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THE

HISTORY

OF

MODERN EUROPE.

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MODERN EUROPE.

WITH AN ACCOUNT OF

THE DECLINE AND FALL

OF THE

ROMAN EMPIRE,

AND A VIEW OF

THE PROGRESS OF SOCIETY,

FROM THE

FIFTH to the EIGHTEENTH CENTURY.

IN A

SERIES of LETTERS from a NOBLEMAN to his SON.

"Modern Hiſtory is particularly your Buſineſs."

CHESTERFIELD.

VOL. I.

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THE Utility of a conciſe HISTORY of MODERN EUROPE is too obvious to need being pointed out. Such a Work was wanted in our Language. How properly that Deficiency is ſupplied by the following Letters, the public Judgment will determine. The Author's aim was, to ſtrike a Medium between the dry chronological Method of Puffendorf, and the deſultory, but captivating Manner of Voltaire. For this purpoſe the epiſtolary Form was choſen, as beſt calculated to preſerve the Chain of Events, without ſubjecting the Writer to the Neceſſity of omitting, or of throwing into Notes, thoſe intereſting Anecdotes and occaſional Reflexions, which many conſider as the chief Merit of Hiſtory.

THE

THE Idea of this Work was ſuggeſted by the Earl of Cheſterfield's Letters to his Son on the *Study of Modern Hiſtory*. That happy Talent which his Lordſhip poſſeſſed of familiarizing and ſhedding Graces over his Subject, however barren or obſcure, muſt make it dangerous to the Reputation of any Writer to attempt to fill up the fine Outline which *He* has traced; yet ſuch an Attempt was neceſſary, in order to complete a very eſſential Part of his liberal Plan of Education. Modern Hiſtory not only furniſhes the principal Subjects that find a Place in polite Converſation, but alſo the Knowledge of thoſe which enable the young Nobleman or Gentleman, who has ſtudied the ancient Claſſics, to enter on public Buſineſs.

THE HISTORY OF MODERN EUROPE.

LETTER I.

The FALL *of the* ROMAN EMPIRE, *and the* SETTLEMENT *of the* BARBARIANS.

YOU have already, my dear Boy, finiſhed your courſe of Ancient Hiſtory, under your preceptor: the Modern I will take upon myſelf. The eſtabliſhment of the preſent European nations; the origin of our laws, manners, and cuſtoms; the progreſs of ſociety, of arts, and of letters, demand your particular attention, and were ill committed to the diſquiſitions of a mere ſcholar. LET. I.

EUROPE is the theatre on which the human character has appeared to moſt advantage, and where ſociety has attained its moſt perfect form, both in ancient and in modern times; its hiſtory will, therefore, furniſh us with every thing neceſſary in the ſtudy of men, or of kingdoms: I ſhall, however, turn your eye, now and then, on the other parts of the globe, that you may have a general idea, at leaſt, of the ſtate of the univerſe. But before I proceed to the hiſtory of Modern

LET I. Europe, it will be proper to refreſh your memory with a ſhort account of its ancient inhabitants, and its ſituation at the ſettlement of the preſent nations.

THE inhabitants of ancient Europe may be divided into three claſſes, Greeks, Romans, and Barbarians; or thoſe nations the two former were pleaſed to call ſo, becauſe leſs civilized than they. With the Greek and Roman ſtory you are perfectly acquainted; and the ſubject, at any rate, is too extenſive to be even glanced over here. I ſhall therefore only remind you, that the Greeks, the moſt poliſhed people of antiquity, inhabited nearly the ſame tract of country which is now known by the name of European Turky; that, when corrupted, they were conquered by the Romans, as were moſt nations of Europe, Aſia, and Africa; that after the conqueſt of Greece, the Romans turned their arms upon the northern nations, or the Barbarians, the Gauls, the Britons, the Germans, whom they likewiſe in a great meaſure ſubdued, by their ſuperiority in the art of war, but not with the ſame facility as they had done the voluptuous nations of the Eaſt. A ſingle battle did not decide the fate of a kingdom. Thoſe brave and independent people, though often defeated, reſumed their arms with freſh valour, and defended their poſſeſſions and their liberties with obſtinate courage. But after a variety of ſtruggles, in which many of them periſhed in the field, and many were carried into ſlavery, a miſerable remnant ſubmitted to the Romans; while others fled to their mountains for freedom, or took refuge in the inacceſſible corners of the North. There they lived in foreſts and faſtneſſes, ſurrounded by lakes and frozen ſhores, till time had ripened the ſeeds of deſtruction; when ruſhing forth like an overflowing flood, and ſweeping every thing before them, they deſolated the moſt fertile provinces of the earth; overturned the vaſt fabric of the Roman empire,

pire, the work and the wonder of ages, taking vengeance on the murderers of mankind; eſtabliſhed on its ruins new governments and new manners, and accompliſhed the moſt ſignal revolution in the hiſtory of nations.

HERE, my dear Boy, we muſt make a pauſe, in order to conſider the moral and political cauſes of this great event, and its influence on the ſtate of ſociety.

As ſoon as the Romans had ſubdued the north of Europe, they ſet themſelves to civilize it. They tranſferred into the conquered countries their laws, manners, arts, ſciences, language, and literature: and ſome have thought theſe a ſufficient compenſation for the loſs of liberty and independency; but you, I hope, will judge very differently, whatever veneration you may have for the Roman name.

GOOD laws are eſſential to good government, arts and ſciences to the proſperity of a nation, and learning and politeneſs to the perfection of the human character; but theſe, to exalt a people, muſt be the reſult of the natural progreſs of civilization, not of any adventitious ferment or violence from abroad. The fruits of ſummer are ripened in winter by art; but the courſe of the ſeaſons is neceſſary to give them their proper flavour, their proper ſize, or their proper taſte. The ſpontaneous produce of the foreſt, tho' ſomewhat harſh, is preferable to what is raiſed by ſuch violent culture: and the native dignity, the native manners, and rude virtues of the barbarian, are ſuperior to all that can be taught the ſlave. When mankind are obliged to look up to a maſter for honour and conſequence, to flatter his foibles, and to fear his frown; cunning takes place of wiſdom, and treachery of fortitude; the mind loſes its vigour, the heart its generoſity, and man, in being poliſhed, is only debaſed.

LET. I.

THIS truth was never, perhaps, more ſtrikingly exemplified than in the hiſtory of the Roman empire. The degrading influence of its dominion, more than any other circumſtance, haſtened its final diſſolution; for although the conquered nations were, by that means, more eaſily kept in ſubjection, they became unable to reſiſt a foreign enemy, and might be conſidered as decayed members of the body politic, which increaſed its ſize without increaſing its ſtrength. An appearance of proſperity, indeed, ſucceeded to the havock of war; the ruined cities were rebuilt, and new ones founded; population flouriſhed; civilization advanced; the arts were cultivated: but the martial and independent ſpirit of the people was ſo totally extinct in a few centuries, that inſtead of preferring death to ſlavery, like ſo many of their illuſtrious anceſtors, they patiently ſubmitted to any contribution which a rapacious governor was pleaſed to levy; and the deſcendants of thoſe gallant warriors, who had diſputed the field with the Roman legions under Cæſar and Germanicus, were unable to oppoſe the moſt deſultory inroads of a troop of undiſciplined barbarians. They were become incapable either of thinking or acting for themſelves. Hence all the countries, which had been ſubjected to the Roman yoke, fell a prey to the firſt invader, after the imperial forces were withdrawn.

MANY other cauſes contributed to the fall of the Roman Empire.

ROME owed her dominion as much to the manners as to the arms of her citizens. Their dignity of ſentiment; their love of liberty and of their country; their paſſion for glory; their perſeverance in toils; their contempt of danger and of death; their obedience to the laws; and, above all, their military diſcipline, had extended and cemented the conqueſts of the

the Romans. The very injuſtices of that ſovereign people, (for I ſpeak of the times of the republic) were covered with a certain majeſty, which made even tyranny reſpectable: but their government carried in its boſom the ſeeds of deſtruction. The continual jealouſy between the ſenate and the people, without any balancing power, made the ruin of the republic inevitable, as ſoon as the manners were relaxed; and a relaxation of manners was neceſſarily produced, by the pillage of Greece, and the conqueſt of Aſia; by the contagious refinements of the one, and the influx of wealth from the other.

THE fall of Carthage, and the expulſion of the Gauls out of Italy, though ſeemingly the two moſt fortunate events in the Roman hiſtory, contributed alſo to a change of manners, and to the extinction of Roman liberty. While Carthage ſubſiſted, the attention of all parties was carried to that rival ſtate; to defend themſelves, or annoy their enemies, was the only care of the Romans: and, as long as the Gauls had poſſeſſions in the neighbourhood of Rome, her citizens were united by the ſenſe of a common danger; but no ſooner were their fears from abroad removed, than the people grew altogether ungovernable. Ambitious men took advantage of their licentiouſneſs; party claſhed with party. A maſter became neceſſary, in order to terminate the horrors of civil war, as well as to give union and vigour to the ſtate. Intereſt and vanity made courtiers; force or fear, ſlaves. The people were diſarmed by the jealouſy of deſpotiſm, and corrupted by the example of an abandoned court. Debauchery, profligacy, and almoſt every vice, was common upon the throne.

A NEW ſource of ruin diſcloſed itſelf. Some diſputed ſucceſſions made the army ſenſible that the ſo-

LET. I. vereignty was in their hands, and they thenceforth ſold it to the higheſt bidder; ſporting with the lives of their princes, as they had formerly done with the laws of the republic, they created emperors only to extort money from them, and afterwards maſſacred them, in order to extort like ſums from their ſucceſſors. Emperors were oppoſed to emperors, and armies diſputed the pretenſions of armies. With obedience diſcipline was loſt. Wiſe princes endeavoured, but in vain, to reſtore it: their zeal to maintain the ancient military regulations only expoſed them to the fury of the ſoldiery; the very name of diſcipline was a ſignal of revolt. The armies of Rome did not now conſiſt of free men, who voluntarily choſe a military life, but of mercenaries collected from the provinces, or barbarians bribed into the ſervice, as more able to undergo the fatigues of war: her ſoldiers were no longer citizens armed in defence of their country, they were its oppreſſors; they were licenſed robbers, inſatiable of plunder.

IN order to prevent the continual treaſons of the ſoldiery, particularly of the Pretorian bands, the emperors aſſociated with themſelves in the ſupreme power, their ſons, their brothers, or ſuch perſons as they could truſt; and every emperor elected a Cæſar, or ſucceſſor. They likewiſe divided, and conſequently diminiſhed, the power of the Pretorian prefects, (who were the grand-vizirs of their time) appointing four inſtead of one. By theſe means the imperial ſeat was rendered more ſecure; the emperors were permitted to die in their beds; manners were ſoftened, and leſs blood was ſhed by ferocity; but the ſtate was waſted by an enormous expence, and a new ſpecies of oppreſſion took place, not leſs diſgraceful to humanity than the former maſſacres. The tyranny was transferred from the ſoldiery to the prince; the cauſe and the mode

mode was changed, but the effect was the ſame. Shut up within the walls of a palace, ſurrounded by flatterers and women, and ſunk in the ſoftneſs of Eaſtern luxury, thoſe maſters of empire governed in ſecret by the dark and ſubtle artifices of deſpotiſm. Iniquitous judgments, under the form of juſtice, ſeemed only to ſet death at a diſtance, in order to make life more miſerable, and exiſtence more precarious. Nothing was ſaid, all was inſinuated: every man of great reputation was accuſed; and the warrior and the politician daily ſaw themſelves at the mercy of ſycophants, who had neither ability to ſerve the ſtate themſelves, nor generoſity enough to ſuffer others to ſerve it with honour.

THE removal of the imperial court to Conſtantinople was a new blow to the grandeur of Rome, and likewiſe to its ſecurity: for the veteran legions, that guarded the banks of the Danube and the Rhine, were alſo removed to the Eaſt, in order to guard another frontier; and Italy, robbed of its wealth and inhabitants, ſunk into a ſtate of the moſt annihilating languor. Changed into a garden by an Aſiatic pomp, and crowded with villas, now deſerted by their voluptuous owners, this once fertile country was unable to maintain itſelf; and, when the crops of Sicily and Egypt failed, the people breathed nothing but ſedition.

THESE diſcontents occaſioned by the removal of the imperial court, were heightened by thoſe of religion. Chriſtianity had long been making progreſs in the empire: it now aſcended the throne. As the Chriſtians had formerly been perſecuted, they, in their turn, became perſecutors. The gods of Rome were publicly inſulted, their ſtatues were broken, their votaries were harraſſed. Penal ſtatutes were enacted againſt the ancient worſhip; the puniſhment of death was denounced againſt the ſacrifices formerly ordained by law; the

LET. I. altar of Victory was overturned, the Croſs was exalted in its ſtead, and diſplayed in place of that triumphant eagle, under which the world had been conquered. Nay, ſo exceſſive was the zeal of the royal converts, that while the empire was over-run by a deluge of enemies, not a magiſtrate was permitted to hold an office, an officer a commiſſion, nor even a ſoldier to ſerve in the ranks, who had not embraced the new religion. The moſt dreadful hates and animoſities aroſe. The Pagans accuſed the Chriſtians of all their misfortunes; they rejoiced in the midſt of the greateſt calamities, as if the Gods had been come in perſon to take vengeance on the deſtroyers of their altars: while the Chriſtians affirmed, that the remains of Paganiſm alone had drawn down the wrath of Omnipotence. Both parties were more occupied about their religious diſputes than the common ſafety: and, to complete the miſeries of this unhappy people, the Chriſtians became divided among themſelves. New ſects ſprung up; new diſputes took place; new jealouſies and antipathies raged; and the ſame puniſhments were denounced againſt Heretics and Pagans. An univerſal bigotry debaſed the minds of men. In a grand aſſembly of the provinces, it was propoſed, that, as there are three perſons in the Trinity, they ought to have three emperors. Sieges were raiſed, and cities loſt, for the ſake of a bit of rotten wood; or withered bone, which was ſuppoſed to belong to ſome ſaint or martyr. The effeminacy of the age mingled itſelf with this infatuation; and generals, more weak than humane, ſat down to weep, when they ſhould have led on their troops to victory.

THE character of the people with whom the Romans had to contend was, in all reſpects, the reverſe of theirs. Thoſe northern adventurers, or Barbarians, as they are called, breathed nothing but war; their martial

martial ſpirit was yet in its vigour; they ſought a milder climate, and lands more fertile than their foreſts and mountains: the ſword was their right; and they exerciſed it without remorſe, as the right of nature. Barbarous they ſurely were, but they were ſuperior to the people they invaded, in virtue as well as in valour. Simple and ſevere in their manners, they were unacquainted with the word luxury; any thing was ſufficient for their extreme frugality: hardened by exerciſe and toil, their bodies ſeemed inacceſſible to diſeaſe or pain: war was their element; they ſported with danger, and met death with expreſſions of joy. Tho' free and independent, they were firmly attached to their leaders, becauſe they followed them from choice, not from conſtraint, the moſt gallant being always dignified with the command. Nor were theſe their only virtues. They were remarkable for their regard to the ſanctity of the marriage-bed; for their generous hoſpitality; for their deteſtation of treachery and falſehood: they poſſeſſed many maxims of civil wiſdom, and wanted only the culture of reaſon to conduct them to the true principles of ſocial life. LET. I.

WHAT could the divided, effeminate, and now daſtardly Romans oppoſe to ſuch a people? Nothing but fear and folly; or, what was ſtill more ignominious, treachery. Soon convinced that the combat was unequal, they attempted to appeaſe their invaders by money: but that peace could not be of long continuance, which put thoſe who ſold it in a better condition to ſell another. Force is ſeldom juſt. Theſe voluntary contributions were changed into a tribute, which was demanded as a right; and war was denounced when it was refuſed, or fell ſhort of the cuſtomary ſum. Tributes were multiplied upon tributes, till the empire was drained of its treaſure. Another expedient was then fallen upon: large bodies of the barbarians were

LET. I. were taken into pay, and oppoſed to other barbarians. This mode of defence, ſo contrary to the practice of the firſt Romans, anſwered for the moment, but terminated in ruin: thoſe auxiliaries proved the moſt dangerous enemies of the empire. Already acquainted with the Roman luxuries, the Roman wealth, and the Roman weakneſs, they turned their arms againſt their maſters, inviting their countrymen to come and ſhare with them the ſpoils of a people undeſerving of ſo many advantages. They were likewiſe become acquainted with what little military ſkill yet remained among the Romans; and that, ſuperadded to their natural intrepidity, made them perfectly irreſiſtible. A third expedient, yet more unworthy of the Roman name, was had recourſe to: aſſaſſination was employed by the emperors againſt thoſe princes, or leaders, whoſe arms they feared; it was even concealed beneath the maſk of friendſhip, and perpetrated under the roof of hoſpitality! in the convivial hour, and at the feſtive board!

THIS diabolical practice, the want of faith, and other unmanly vices of the Romans, not only account for the total ſubverſion of their empire, but alſo for many of the cruelties of the conquerors. Inflamed by the paſſion of revenge, not leſs than the thirſt of conqueſt or the luſt of plunder, the inflexible and high ſpirited, though naturally generous barbarians, were equally deaf to the offers of treaty and the voice of ſupplication. Wherever they marched, their route was marked with blood. The moſt fertile and populous provinces were converted into deſarts. Italy, and Rome itſelf, was often pillaged. New invaders, from regions more remote and barbarous, drove out, or exterminated the former ſettlers; and Europe was ſucceſſively laid waſte, till the North, by pouring forth

its myriads, was drained of people, and the ſword of ſlaughter was tired of deſtroying. LET. I.

In little more than a century from the firſt northern invaſion, ſcarce any remains of the laws, manners, arts, or literature of the Romans was left in our quarter of the globe. The Viſigoths had poſſeſſed themſelves of Spain; the Franks of Gaul; the Saxons of the Roman provinces in South Britain; the Huns of Pannonia; the Oſtrogoths of Italy, and the adjacent provinces. New governments, laws, languages; new manners, cuſtoms, dreſſes; new names of men and of countries every where prevailed. A total change was produced in the ſtate of Europe.

How far this change is to be lamented, may be matter of much diſpute. The human ſpecies was reduced to ſuch a degree of debaſement by the preſſure of Roman deſpotiſm, that we can hardly be ſorry at any means, however violent, which removed or lightened the load. But we cannot help lamenting, at the ſame time, that this revolution was the work of nations ſo little enlightened by ſcience, or poliſhed by civilization: for the Roman laws, though ſomewhat corrupted, were yet in general the beſt that human wiſdom had framed; and the Roman arts and literature, though much declined, were ſtill ſuperior to any thing found among rude nations, or which thoſe who ſpurned them produced for many ages.

The contempt of the Barbarians for the Roman improvements, is not wholly, however, to be aſcribed to their ignorance, nor the ſuddenneſs of the revolution to their deſolating fury: the manners of the conquered muſt come in for a ſhare. Had the Romans not been in the loweſt ſtate of national degeneracy, they might ſurely have civilized their conquerors; had they retained

LET. I.

tained any of the virtues of men among them, they might have continued under the government of their own laws. Many of the northern leaders were men of great abilities; and ſeveral of them were acquainted both with the policy and literature of the Romans: but they were juſtly afraid of the contagious influence of Roman example, and therefore avoided every thing allied to that name, whether hurtful or otherwiſe. They erected a cottage in the neighbourhood of a palace, breaking down the ſtately building, and burying in its ruins the fineſt works of human invention; they ate out of veſſels of wood, and made the vanquiſhed be ſerved in veſſels of ſilver; they hunted the boar on the voluptuous parterre, the trim garden, and expenſive pleaſure-ground, where effeminacy was wont to ſaunter, or indolence to loll; and they paſtured their herds, where they might have raiſed a luxurious harveſt. They prohibited their children the knowledge of literature, and of all the elegant arts; becauſe they not unplauſibly, though ſomewhat falſely concluded, from the daſtardlineſs of the Romans, that learning tends to enervate the mind, and that he who has trembled under the rod of a pedagogue will never dare to meet a ſword with an undaunted eye. Upon the ſame principle they rejected the Roman juriſprudence. It reſerved nothing to the vengeance of man: they therefore not unphiloſophically thought, it muſt rob him of his active powers; nor could they conceive how the perſon injured could be ſatisfied, but by pouring out his fury upon the author of the injuſtice. Hence all thoſe judicial combats, and private wars, which for many ages deſolated Europe.

IN what manner light aroſe out of this darkneſs, order out of this confuſion, and taſte out of this barbariſm, we ſhall have occaſion to obſerve in the courſe of

of hiſtory: how genius and magnificence diſplayed themſelves in a new mode, which prevailed for a time, and was exploded; how the ſons came to idolize that literature which their fathers had proſcribed, and wept over the ruins of thoſe ſculptures, paintings, buildings, which they could not reſtore; digging from dung-hills, and the duſt of ages, the models of their future imitations, and enervating themſelves by the ſame arts which had enervated the Romans. LET. I.

In the mean time we muſt take a view of the ſyſtem of policy and legiſlation eſtabliſhed by the Barbarians on their firſt ſettlement.

LETTER

LETTER II.

The SYSTEM *of* POLICY *and* LEGISLATION *eſtabliſhed by the* BARBARIANS *on their* SETTLEMENT *in the* PROVINCES *of the* ROMAN EMPIRE.

LET. II.

THE ancient Gauls, the Britons, the Germans, the Scandinavians, and all the nations of the north of Europe, had a certain degree of conformity in their government, manners, and opinions. The ſame leading character, and the ſame degree of conformity was likewiſe obſervable among their more modern deſcendants, who under the names of Goths and Vandals diſmembered the Roman empire. Alike diſtinguiſhed by a love of war and of liberty, by a perſuaſion that force only conſtitutes right, and that victory is an infallible proof of juſtice, they were equally bold in attacking their enemies, and in reſiſting the abſolute domination of any one man. They were free even in a ſtate of ſubmiſſion. Their primitive government was a kind of military democracy, under a general or chieftain, who had commonly the title of king. Matters of little conſequence were determined by the chief men, but the whole community aſſembled to deliberate on national objects. The authority of their kings or generals, who owed their eminence entirely to their military talents, and held it by no other claim, was extremely limited: it conſiſted rather in the privilege of adviſing, than in the power of commanding. Every individual was at liberty to chuſe whether he would engage in any warlike enterpriſe. They therefore followed the chieftain who led them forth in queſt of new ſettlements from inclination, not controul; as volunteers who offered to accompany him, not as ſoldiers

diers whom he could order to march. They conſidered their conqueſts as common property, in which all had a right to ſhare, as all had contributed to acquire them: nor was any obligation, whatſoever, entailed on poſſeſſions thus obtained. Every one was the king of his own little terrritory. But after ſettling in the Roman provinces, where they had their acquiſitions to maintain not only againſt the ancient inhabitants, but alſo againſt the inroads of new invaders, they ſaw the neceſſity of a cloſer union, and of relinquiſhing ſome of their private rights for public ſafety. They continued, therefore, to acknowledge the general who had led them to conqueſt; he was conſidered as the head of the colony; he had the largeſt ſhare of the conquered lands; and every free man, or every inferior officer and ſoldier, upon receiving a ſhare according to his military rank, bound himſelf to appear againſt the enemies of the community. LET. II.

THIS new diviſion of property, and the obligations conſequent upon it, gave riſe to a ſpecies of government formerly unknown, and which is now diſtinguiſhed by the name of the FEUDAL SYSTEM. The idea of a feudal kingdom was borrowed from a military eſtabliſhment. The victorious army, cantoned out in the country which it had ſeized, continued ſubordinate to military command, and ranged under its proper officers, who were ready to aſſemble whenever occaſion ſhould require their united operations or counſels. But this ſyſtem of policy, apparently ſo well calculated for national defence or conqueſt, and which prevailed for ſeveral centuries in almoſt every kingdom of Europe, did not ſufficiently provide for the interior order and tranquility of the ſtate. The bond of political union was feeble; the ſources of diſſention were many; and corruption was interwoven with the very nature of the conſtitution. The partial diviſion of

the

LET. II. the conquered lands, which were principally ſwallowed up by the great officers, gave the few a dangerous aſcendency over the many. The king, or general, by his ſuperior allotment, had it amply in his power to reward paſt ſervices, or attach new followers, for the purpoſe of future wars. With this view he parcelled out his lands; binding thoſe, on whom he beſtowed them, to attend him in all his military enterprizes, under the penalty of forfeiture. The nobles, or chief officers, followed his example, annexing the ſame conditions to their benefices, or grants of land, and appearing at the head of their numerous vaſſals, like ſo many independent princes, whenever their pride, or their property was injured. They diſputed the claims of the ſovereign; they withdrew their attendance, or turned their arms againſt him. A ſtrong barrier was by this means formed againſt a general deſpotiſm in the ſtate; but the nobles themſelves, by means of their warlike retainers, were the tyrants of every inferior diſtrict, holding the people in ſervitude, and preventing any regular adminiſtration of juſtice, every one claiming that prerogative within his own domains. Nor was this the only privilege thoſe haughty nobles uſurped: they alſo extorted from the crown the right of coining money in their own name, and of carrying on war againſt their private enemies.

IN conſequence of theſe encroachments on the royal prerogative, the powerful vaſſals of the crown obtained a grant during life, and afterwards one including their heirs, of ſuch lands as they had originally held only during pleaſure; and they appropriated to themſelves titles of honour, as well as offices of power and of truſt, which became hereditary in many families. The ties which connected the principal members of the conſtitution with its head were diſſolved; almoſt all ideas of political ſubjection were loſt, and little ap-

appearance of feudal ſubordination remained. The nobility openly aſpired at independency; they ſcorned to conſider themſelves as ſubjects; and a kingdom, conſiderable in name and extent, was often a mere mock-monarchy, and actually conſiſted of as many ſeparate principalities as it contained powerful barons. A thouſand feuds and jealouſies ſubſiſted among them, and gave riſe to as many wars. Hence every country in Europe, waſted or kept in continual alarm by theſe internal hoſtilities, was filled with caſtles and places of ſtrength, to protect the inhabitants againſt the fury of their fellow-ſubjects.

KINGDOMS ſo divided, and torn by domeſtic broils, were little capable of any foreign effort. The wars of Europe, therefore, during ſeveral centuries, as we ſhall have occaſion to ſee, reſembled more the wild and deſultory incurſions of pirates, or banditti, than the regular and concerted operations of national force. Happily however for poſterity, the ſtate of every kingdom was nearly the ſame; otherwiſe all muſt have fallen a prey to one: the independent ſpirit of the North might have been extinguiſhed for ever; and the preſent harmonious ſyſtem of European policy, which ſogloriouſly ſtruggled from the chaos of anarchy, might have ſunk in eternal night.

THE particular manner in which the Barbarians, or northern invaders, conducted their judicial proceedings, when they firſt ſettled in the provinces of the Roman empire, cannot now be diſtinctly aſcertained: but their form of government, their manners, and a variety of other circumſtances, lead us to believe it was nearly the ſame with that which prevailed in their original countries; where the authority of the magiſtrate was ſo limited, and the independency of individuals ſo great, that they ſeldom admitted any um-

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pire but the ſword. "We ſubmit not our compe-
"titions to the judgment of men," was their lan-
guage; "and, even among the gods, we appeal
"only to Mars."

OUR moſt ancient hiſtorical records juſtify this opinion; they repreſent the exerciſe of juſtice in all the kingdoms of Europe, and the ideas of men with regard to equity, as little different from thoſe which prevail in a ſtate of nature, and which deform the firſt ſtages of ſociety in every country. Reſentment was almoſt the ſole motive for proſecuting crimes; and the gratification of that paſſion, more than any view to the proſperity and good order of ſociety, was the end, and alſo the rule in puniſhing them. He that ſuffered the wrong, was the only perſon who had a right to purſue the aggreſſor; to demand, or remit the puniſhment: and he might accept of a compenſation for any offence, how heinous ſoever. The proſecution of criminals in the name, and by the authority of the community, in order to deter others from violating the laws, now ſo juſtly conſidered as the grand object of legiſlation, was a maxim of juriſprudence then little underſtood in theory, and ſtill leſs regarded in practice. The civil and criminal judges could, in moſt caſes, do no more than appoint the liſts, and leave the parties to decide their cauſe by the ſword. Fierce and haughty nobles, unuſed to the reſtraints of law, conſidered it as infamous to give up to another the right of determining what reparation they ſhould accept of, or with what vengeance they ſhould reſt ſatisfied; they ſcorned to appeal to any tribunal but their own right-arm: and if men of inferior condition ſometimes ſubmitted to award, or arbitration, it was only to that of the leader whoſe courage they reſpected, and whom in the field they had been accuſtomed to obey. Hence every chieftain became the judge of his tribe in peace, as well

well as their general in war.---The pernicious effects of this power upon government and upon manners, and the many abſurd modes of trial eſtabliſhed before its abolition, we ſhall have frequent occaſion to obſerve in the hiſtory of every modern kingdom. LET. II.

THE feudal ſyſtem, however, with all its imperfections, and the diſorders to which it gave birth, was by no means ſo debaſing to humanity, as the uniform preſſure of Roman deſpotiſm. It kept the minds of men in a continual ferment, and their hearts in agitation. If animoſities were keen, friendſhips alſo were warm. The commonalty were unfortunately degraded to ſlaves, but the nobility were exalted to heroes. The gentry were their aſſociates: and the king, without the form of compact, was in reality no more than the firſt officer of the community, and could literally do no WRONG; or none, at leaſt, with impunity.

LETTER III.

The Continent of EUROPE, *from the Settlement of the* MODERN NATIONS, *to the Time of* CHARLEMAGNE.

LET. III.

IN hiſtory, as well as in all other ſciences, it is neceſſary to ſet certain limits to our inquiries, if we would proceed with certainty; and, where utility more than curioſity is our object, we muſt even contract theſe boundaries. We muſt not only confine ourſelves to thoſe periods where truth can be aſcertained, but to thoſe events principally which were followed by ſome civil or political conſequence, which produced ſome alteration in the government or the manners of a people: and, even of ſuch events, we ſhould be more particularly attentive to thoſe which continue to operate upon our preſent civil or political ſyſtem.

IN theſe few words, my dear Boy, to avoid egotiſm, I have indirectly given you an account of the manner in which I mean to conduct that *Hiſtory of Modern Europe*, which is intended for your inſtruction. The firſt eras of modern, as well as ancient hiſtory, are involved in fable; and the tranſactions of the immediately ſucceeding periods are handed down to us in barren chronicles, which convey no idea of the character of the agents, and conſequently are equally deſtitute of inſtruction and amuſement; while the events of latter ages are related with ſo circumſtantial a minuteneſs, that a ſelection becomes abſolutely neceſſary, for ſuch as would not willingly ſpend a life-time in cultivating an acquaintance with thoſe who have lived before them: and as I would rather have you acquainted with the character

character of one living, than of ten dead ſtateſmen or heroes, I ſhall be as conciſe in my narration as is conſiſtent with perſpicuity, and as ſelect in my matter as information will allow; taking always care, however, to omit no anecdote that can throw light on the hiſtory of the human heart, nor any circumſtance which marks the progreſs of civil ſociety. LET. III.

MODERN HISTORY is of little importance before the time of Charlemagne: and a late celebrated writer has fixed upon the coronation of that prince at Rome in the year 800, as the proper era of its commencement; but for the ſake of order, as well as to gratify that curioſity which we naturally have to become acquainted with the origin of nations, I ſhall give you a ſhort ſketch of modern Europe, previous to that period.

FRANCE.

THE French monarchy firſt claims your notice; not on account of its antiquity only, but becauſe of its early and continued conſequence. Gaul was ſhared by the Romans, the Viſigoths, and the Burgundians, when Clovis king of the Franks, a people inhabiting the other ſide of the Rhine, defeated A. D. 486. Syagrius, the Roman general, and eſtabliſhed a new kingdom [1], to which he gave the name of France, or the Land of Free Men. How ill applied in latter times!

THOUGH Clovis was only nineteen years of age when he obtained this victory, which terminated the Roman power in Gaul, his prudence appears to have been equal to his valour. Every thing conſpired to his aggrandizement. The Gauls hated the dominion of the Romans, and were ſtrongly attached to Chriſtianity: he gained on their piety, by favouring their biſhops; and his marriage with Clotilda, niece to Gondebaud, king of Burgundy, made them hope

LET. III. that he would ſpeedily embrace the faith. The attachment of his countrymen to their ancient worſhip, was the ſole objection: the pious exhortations of the queen had ſome effect; and the king having vanquiſhed the Allemanni at Tolbiac, near Cologne, after an obſtinate engagement, aſcribed that victory to the God of Clotilda, whom he ſaid he had invoked during the time of battle, under promiſe of becoming Chriſtian. He was accordingly baptiſed by
A. D. 496. St. Remigius, biſhop of Rheims; and almoſt the whole French nation followed his example [2].

THIS was a grand circumſtance in favour of Clovis, and he did not fail to take advantage of it. The Gauls were ſtaunch Catholics, but the Viſigoths and Burgundians were Arians. Clotilda, however, happily was a Catholic, though nurſed in the boſom of Arianiſm; and Clovis himſelf overflowed with zeal for the ſame faith, as ſoon as he found it would ſecond his ambitious projects. Under colour of religion, he made war upon Alaric, king of the Viſigoths, who poſſeſſed the provinces between the Rhone and the Loire. The Gallic clergy favoured his pre-
A. D. 507. tenſions; and the battle of Vouillé, in which the king of the Viſigoths was killed, enlarged the kingdom of the Franks [3].

BUT Clovis, inſtead of enjoying his good fortune with dignity, diſfigured the latter part of his reign by perfidies and cruelties towards the princes of his blood, whom he extirpated [4]. He died in 511, after attempting to atone for his crimes by building churches and monaſtries, and aſſembling a council at Orleans for the regulation of church-diſcipline.

A. D. 511. THE death of Clovis was a ſevere blow to the grandeur of the French monarchy. He left four ſons,

who

who divided his extenſive dominions among them. Thierry, the eldeſt, had the largeſt ſhare; he was king of Auſtraſia, or that part of Oriental France which lies between the Rhine and the Meuſe. Metz was his capital. Childebert was king of Paris, Clodomir of Orleans, and Clotaire of Soiſſons [5]. This diviſion of the empire of the Franks into four independent kingdoms, not only weakened its force, but gave riſe to endleſs broils. The brothers became enemies, whenever their intereſts jarred. The moſt frightful barbarities were the conſequence of their diſſentions. Murders and aſſaſſinations grew common events. LET. III.

THE experience of theſe evils, however, did not prevent a like diviſion taking place after the death of Clotaire, the ſole ſucceſſor of his brothers and nephews. His four ſons divided the four kingdoms by lot [6]. The kingdom of Paris fell to Caribert; Soiſſons to Chilperic; Auſtraſia to Sigebert; and Orleans to Gontran, in whoſe lot alſo was included Burgundy, which had been conquered by the united forces of Childebert and Clotaire. This new diviſion was followed by conſequences ſtill more fatal than the former. Two queens, more deſerving of the name of furies than of women, ſacrificed every thing to their bloody ambition: Brunehaut, princeſs of Spain, wife to Sigebert, king of Auſtraſia, and Fredegonde, firſt concubine, and afterwards wife to Chilperic, king of Soiſſons. Their mutual hatred, and their influence over their huſbands, were productive of an infinite number of crimes, equally ruinous to the people and the royal family, and the moſt enormous to be met with in the hiſtory of mankind. A. D. 562.

AFTER the murder of a multitude of princes, and many years of civil war, carried on with the moſt vindictive ſpirit, and accompanied with every form of

LET III. A. D. 613. treachery and cruelty, Clotaire II. ſon of Chilperic and Fredegonde, was left ſole monarch of France 7. He re-eſtabliſhed tranquillity, and gained the hearts of his ſubjects; attaching the nobility by augmenting their conſequence. He committed the government of Auſtraſia and Burgundy to the Mayors of the Palace, as they were called; a kind of viceroys, who daily acquiring power, at laſt made their way to the throne.

THE vices of Dagobert, the ſon of Clotaire; the taxes with which he loaded the people, to furniſh his debauches, or to atone for them, according to the cuſtom of thoſe times, by pious profuſions, weakened the royal authority, at the ſame that they debaſed it. His two ſons, Sigebert II. and Clovis II. were only the founders of new convents. They were nobody in their kingdoms: the mayors were every thing.

ON the death of theſe two princes, Grimoald, A. D. 656. mayor of Auſtraſia, ſet his own ſon upon the throne of that kingdom. The uſurper was depoſed; but the ſeducing example remained, as a lure to future ambition. The ſucceeding princes were as weak as their predeceſſors; and Pepin Heriſtel, duke of Auſtraſia, governed France twenty-eight years, under the title of mayor, with equal prudence and fortitude. The kings were no more than decorated pageants, to be ſhewn to the people occaſionally. The appellation of *ſluggards*, which was given them, aptly expreſſes their ſtupid inactivity.

A. D. 714. AFTER the death of Pepin, who by reſtoring the national aſſemblies, which the deſpotiſm of former mayors had aboliſhed; by turning the reſtleſs impetuoſity of the French againſt foreign enemies, whom he

he always overcame, and other prudent meaſures, had quietly enjoyed a power hitherto unknown in the monarchy; his authority paſſed into the hands of his widow Plectrude, whoſe grandſon, yet an infant, was created mayor. Such was the veneration of the French for the memory of this great man!—But the government of a woman was ill ſuited to thoſe turbulent times, though the inſignificant kings were content to live under the guardianſhip of a child. Charles Martel, natural ſon of Pepin, was ſuſpected of ambitious views by Plectrude, and impriſoned. He found means, however, to make his eſcape, and was received by the Auſtraſians as their deliverer. His great qualities ſoon exalted him to the ſame degree of power which his father had enjoyed, and he was equally worthy of it. He ſaved France from the ſword of the Saracens, who had already ſubjected Spain, and he kept all the neighbouring nations in awe by his wiſe and vigorous adminiſtration; yet he never ſtiled himſelf any more than Duke of France, conſcious that the title of King could add nothing to his power. But his ſon Pepin, leſs modeſt or more vain, aſſumed the ſovereignty in name as well as reality; excluding for ever the deſcendants of Clovis, or the Merovingian race, as they are called, from the crown of France [8].

A. D. 732.

A. D. 570.

THE circumſtances of this revolution ſhall be afterwards related. In the mean time we muſt take a view of the other ſtates of Europe.

SPAIN.

SPAIN, my dear Boy, next merits your attention, as the ſecond great kingdom on this ſide of the Alps. Soon after the Viſigoths founded their monarchy in this Roman province, already over-run by the Vandals and

A. D. 467.

LET. III. and the Suevi, the clergy became poſſeſſed of more power than the prince. So early was the tyranny of the church in Spain. Almoſt all cauſes, both civil and eccleſiaſtical, were referred to the bench of biſhops; they even decided in their councils the moſt weighty affairs of the nation [9]. Along with the nobles, among whom they held the firſt rank, they often diſpoſed of the crown, which was more elective than hereditary. The kingdom was one theatre of revolutions and crimes. The number of kings aſſaſſinated fills the ſoul with horror. The Barbarians, after their eſtabliſhment, contracted new vices; their ferocity became more bloody. What crimes did not bigotry alone produce!

IN order, to make you fully ſenſible of this, as well as acquainted with all that is neceſſary to be known in the hiſtory of the Viſigoths in Spain, I need only mention the principal reigns.

A. D. 585. LEOVIGILDE, who died in 585, and who is ſo much celebrated for his victories over the Suevi, whom he entirely ſubdued, put to death his ſon Hermenegilde, becauſe he had embraced the Catholic faith: Reccared, however, his other ſon and ſucceſſor, abjured Arianiſm. The Arians were perſecuted in their turn. The ſpirit of perſecution daily increaſed. Siſebut, a prince in other reſpects wiſe, and whoſe valour diſpoſſeſſed the Greek emperors of what they held on
A. D. 612. the coaſts of the Mediterranean, obliged the Jews, on pain of death, to receive baptiſm. Under this prince the empire of the Viſigoths was at its height; comprehending not only Spain, but alſo ſome neighbouring provinces of Gaul, and part of Mauritania. Chintila baniſhed all the Jews; and a council, or aſſembly of divines, declared, that no prince could aſcend the throne without ſwearing to enforce

all the laws made againſt this unfortunate people. Under Receſuintho, the election of kings was reſerved by a council to the biſhops and palatines. Theſe palatines were the principal officers of the crown. Thus the body of the nation loſt one of their moſt eſſential rights. Wamba, who ſubdued the rebels in Gaul, and defeated the Saracens in an attempt upon Spain, was excluded the throne, becauſe he had been cloathed in the habit of a *penitent*, while labouring under the influence of poiſon, adminiſtered by the ambitious Erviga! — This ſtroke of prieſtcraft, the firſt of the kind that we meet with in hiſtory, ſhews at a diſtance, what might be expected from clerical fineſſe. A council adjudged the throne to Erviga; and another council held during his reign, prohibited the kings, under penalty of damnation, from marrying a king's widow. This canon is a ſufficient proof of the ſpirit of legiſlation, which at that time prevailed in Spain. The debauchery, cruelty, and impiety of Witiza, whoſe wickedneſs knew no bounds, occaſioned a civil war in 710. Roderic, or Roderigue, dethroned this prince, and was himſelf dethroned, by a people whom nothing could reſiſt [10].

A. D. 682.

A. D. 710.

THE Mahometan religion was already eſtabliſhed in many countries. Mahomet, its founder, died in 633; and his countrymen, the Arabs or Saracens, ſoon after over-ran moſt part of Aſia, and all Africa. Animated by the moſt violent ſpirit of fanaticiſm, their valour was altogether irreſiſtible. The Koran promiſed heaven and eternal ſenſuality to ſuch as fell in battle, and the conquerors always tendered liberty and protection to thoſe who embraced their ſuperſtition. They threatened the whole world with ſubjection. Count Julian, whoſe daughter king Roderic had diſhonoured, invited them, it is ſaid, to land in Spain: nor is this circumſtance at all improbable, conſidering the

LET. III. the character of the times, more revolutions being then occaſioned by the private vices of princes than any other cauſe.

THE Saracens, already maſters of Mauritania, now Barbary (a name which the barbarity of their deſcendants has given to that country, as it gave to them the name of Maures, or Moors) made a deſcent upon
A. D. 712. Spain; and by the deciſive battle of Xeres, in Andaluſia, put an end to the empire of the Viſigoths [11]. Muza viceroy of Africa, under the calif Walid, came over to finiſh the conqueſt. According to the prudent policy of the Mahometans, the only enthuſiaſts that ever united the ſpirit of toleration with the zeal for making proſelytes, he offered the inhabitants their religion and laws, on condition that they ſhould pay to him the ſame ſubſidy which they had paid their ſovereigns: and ſuch as embraced the religion of the conquerors were entitled to all their privileges. Moſt cities ſubmitted without reſiſtance: thoſe that held out he reduced by force, burning and pillaging them. Oppas, archbiſhop of Seville, and uncle to the children of Witiza, was not aſhamed on this occaſion to join the Saracens, and ſacrifice his country and his religion to his hatred againſt Roderic: but Pelagius, a prince of the royal blood, remained firm in his duty; and, when he could no longer keep the field againſt the Infidels, he retired to the mountains of Aſturias, followed by a multitude of Chriſtians. There he
A. D. 718. founded a little kingdom, which he defended by his valour, and tranſmitted to his poſterity [12].

MEANWHILE the Saracens, or Moors, not willing to confine their ambition within the limits of the Pyrenees, made an unſucceſsful attack upon Eudes, duke of Aquitaine. Abderaman, however, the new emir or governor of Spain, made a ſecond irruption with ſuperior

ſuperior forces, and penetrated as far as Sens. Repelled by biſhop Ebbo, he fell upon Aquitaine, vanquiſhed the duke, and advanced towards the heart of France. Charles Martel put a ſtop to his career, between Poictiers and Tours, by a memorable battle, in which Abderaman himſelf was ſlain; and, if we believe the hiſtorians of thoſe times, in this action the Saracens loſt upwards of three hundred thouſand men. But ſuch exaggerations are only fit for Romance. A. D. 732.

SPAIN was at firſt very miſerable under the dominion of the Moors. The emirs being dependant on the viceroy of Africa, who allowed them to continue but a ſhort time in their government, were more buſy in fleecing the nation, than in the adminiſtration of juſtice or the preſervation of good order. Civil wars aroſe among the Moſlems themſelves; and the califs, whoſe court was at Damaſcus, were then unable to quell thoſe diſorders. The competitions for the califat even favoured the projects of the rebels. That auguſt dignity, which included both the higheſt regal and ſarcedotal eminence, paſſed from the family of Ommiades to that of Abaſſides in the year 750. The revolution was bloody; and gave birth to another truly advantageous to Spain, which it delivered from its oppreſſors, but injurious to the Chriſtian faith.

ABDERAMAN, called alſo Almanzor, a prince who eſcaped in the maſſacre of the Ommiades, founded in Spain an independent kingdom, conſiſting of all thoſe provinces which had been ſubject to the califs [13]. He fixed his reſidence at Cordova, which he made the ſeat of the arts, of magnificence, and of pleaſure. Without perſecuting the Chriſtians, he was able, by his artful policy, almoſt to extinguiſh Chriſtianity in his dominions: by depriving the biſhops of their dioceſes; by reſerving all honours and offices for the A.D. 1556.

LET. III. followers of his Prophet; and by promoting intermarriages between the Chriſtians and Mahometans. No prince in Europe equalled Abderaman in wiſdom, nor any people the Arabs in whatever tends to the aggrandizement of the human ſoul. Lately enemies to the ſciences, they now cultivated them with ſucceſs, and enjoyed a conſiderable ſhare both of knowledge and politeneſs, while the reſt of mankind were ſunk in ignorance and barbariſm.

I SHALL afterwards have occaſion to be more particular on this ſubject; at preſent we muſt caſt an eye on Italy, Rome, Conſtantinople, and France, from the time of Charles Martel to Charlemagne.

ITALY, *and the* EMPIRE *of* CONSTANTINOPLE.

ITALY experienced a variety of fortunes from the time that it changed its ancient maſters, before it fell into the hands of Charlemagne. It was firſt conquered by the Heruli, a people from the borders of
A. D. 493. the Euxine or Black Sea, who held it only a ſhort time, being expelled by the Oſtrogoths. Theodoric, the firſt Gothic king of Italy, and ſeveral of his ſucceſſors, were princes of great prudence and humanity. They allowed the Italians, or Romans as they were ſtill called, to retain their poſſeſſions, their laws, their religion, their own government, and their own magiſtrates, reſerving only to the Goths the principal military employments [14]. They acknowledged the emperors of Conſtantinople their ſuperiors in rank, but not in juriſdiction. Ravenna was the ſeat of their court, and in real magnificence vied with ancient Rome, as their equitable adminiſtration did with the reigns of Trajan and Antoninus. They were at laſt ſubdued

ſubdued by Beliſarius and Narſes, the generals of Juſtinian, who united Italy once more to the Roman Eaſtern, or Greek empire; the Weſtern empire, which took its riſe, as a ſeparate ſtate, on the death of Theodoſius, being totally extinguiſhed by Odoacer, king of the Heruli. A. D. 553.

SOON after the ſubjection of the Oſtrogoths, great part of Italy was ſeized by Alboinus, king of the Lombards, or Longobards, a Gothic nation. He and his ſucceſſors made Pavia the place of their reſidence. The government of Italy was now entirely changed. Alboinus eſtabliſhed the feudal policy in thoſe countries which he had conquered, ſettling the principal officers of his army, under the name of dukes, in the chief cities of every province [15]. A ſimilar kind of government prevailed in that part of Italy which remained ſubject to the emperors of Conſtantinople: the exarch, or ſupreme governor, who reſided at Ravenna, appointing the dukes, or chief magiſtrates, of the other cities, and removing them at pleaſure. Even Rome itſelf was governed by a duke, the very name of the ſenate and conſuls being aboliſhed. A. D. 570.

ALBOINUS was one of the greateſt princes of his time, and no leſs ſkilled in the ſcience of reigning than in the art of war; but he was ſlain by the treachery of his wife Roſamund, before he had leiſure to perfect the government of his kingdom. Clephis, his ſucceſſor, was an able, but a barbarous prince. His cruelties gave the Lombards ſuch an averſion to regal power, that they reſolved, after his death, to change their form of government; and accordingly, for the ſpace of ten years, they choſe no other king, but lived ſubject to their dukes. Theſe dukes had hitherto acknowledged the royal authority; but, when the kingly power was aboliſhed, each duke became ſovereign of his own city and its diſtrict. A. D. 575.

THE

LET. III. THE Lombards, during this interregnum, extended their conqueſts in Italy: but, being threatened by foreign enemies, they ſaw the neceſſity of union; of reſtoring their ancient form of government, and committing the management of the war to a ſingle perſon.

A. D. 585. FOR this purpoſe the heads of the nation aſſembled, and with one voice called Autharis, the ſon of Clephis, to the throne. Autharis perfected that form of government which had been eſtabliſhed by Alboinus. Senſible that the dukes, who had ruled their ſeveral diſtricts like independent princes, for the ſpace of ten years, would not willingly part with their authority, he allowed them to continue in their governments, but reſerved to himſelf the ſupreme juriſdiction [16]. He made them contribute a part of their revenues towards the ſupport of his royal dignity, and take an oath, that they would aſſiſt him to the utmoſt of their power in time of war. After ſettling the government of his kingdom, he enacted ſeveral ſalutary laws for its tranquillity and good order. He was the firſt of the Lombard kings who embraced Chriſtianity, and many of his ſubjects followed his example: but being of the Arian perſuaſion, like moſt of the northern conquerors, whoſe ſimple minds could not comprehend the myſtery of the incarnation, many diſputes were by that means occaſioned between the Arian and Catholic biſhops; for the Romans, or native Italians, were then as ſtaunch Catholics at at this day.

LIBERTY of conſcience, however, was allowed under all the Lombard kings; and Rotharis, who ſurpaſſed all his predeceſſors in wiſdom and valour, was ſo moderate in his principles, and ſo indulgent to his people, that during his reign moſt cities of Italy had two biſhops, one Catholic, and the other Arian. He was the firſt prince who gave written laws to the Lombards.

Lombards. For this purpoſe, he ſummoned at Pavia a general diet of the nobles; and ſuch regulations as they approved, he ordered to be digeſted into a code, and obſerved over all his dominions. His military talents were not inferior to his civil. He very much extended the limits of his kingdom, and gained ſo many advantages over the imperial forces, that no hoſtilities paſſed between the exarchs and the kings of the Lombards, till the reign of Luitprand. LET. III. A. D. 643.

BUT before that time, the emperor Conſtans landed in Italy with a conſiderable army, which he commanded in perſon, determined to expel the invaders, and reunite this ancient kingdom to his dominions. He at firſt gained ſome inconſiderable advantages; but his army was afterwards totally routed by Romuald, duke of Benevento, whoſe father, Grimoald, had been elected king of the Lombards. Grimoald was a prudent prince, and in all reſpects worthy of the dignity to which he had been raiſed. As ſoon as he was free from the alarms of war, he applied himſelf wholly to the arts of peace. He reformed the laws of Rotharis, which were now from choice appealed to by the Italians as well as the Lombards, revoking ſome, and enacting others more applicable to the circumſtances of the times. Influenced by the arguments of John biſhop of Bergamo, he renounced the tenets of Arius. His ſucceſſors followed his example, all profeſſing the catholic faith; ſo that Arianiſm was in a ſhort time forſaken by the whole nation of the Lombards [17]. A. D. 663. A. D. 668.

LUITPRAND gave great proofs of his wiſdom and valour from the moment he aſcended the throne, tho' his courage ſometimes bordered on raſhneſs. Informed that two of his attendants had conſpired againſt his life, and only waited an opportunity to put their de- A. D. 712.

LET. III. ſign in execution, he walked out with them alone, and upbraided them with their guilt. Struck with ſuch heroic firmneſs, they threw themſelves at his feet, as wretches unworthy of mercy. The king, however, thought otherwiſe: he not only pardoned them, but received them into favour, promoting them afterwards to principal employments. Having thus won his domeſtic enemies by kindneſs, and ſtrenthened his intereſts abroad by marrying the daughter of the duke of the Boioarii, Luitprand applied himſelf, in imitation of his two illuſtrious predeceſſors, Rotharis and Grimoald, to the formation of new laws. In one of theſe his wiſdom appears highly conſpicuous: he blames "the ridiculous cuſtom of trials by duel, in which we "would force God to manifeſt his juſtice, according to "the caprice of men;" adding, that he has only tolerated the abuſe, "becauſe the Lombards are ſo much "attached to it."

BUT Luitprand's great qualities were in ſome meaſure ſhaded by his boundleſs ambition. Not ſatisfied with the extenſive dominions left him by his predeceſſors, he formed the deſign of making himſelf ſole maſter of Italy; and a favourable opportunity ſoon offered.

LEO ISAURICUS, at that time emperor of Conſtantinople, where theological diſputes had long mingled with the affairs of ſtate, and where caſuiſts were more common on the throne than politicians, piouſly prohibited the worſhip of images, ordering all the ſtatues and paintings in the churches to be pulled down and burnt. The vulgar, whoſe devotion extended no further than ſuch objects, and the monks and prieſts, intereſted in ſupporting the mummery, were ſo highly provoked at this innovation, that they publickly revolted in many places.

A. D. 717.

The

The emperor, however, took care to have his edict put in force in the East; and he ſtrictly enjoined the exarch of Ravenna, and his other officers in the Weſt, to ſee it as punctually obeyed in their governments. In conſequence of this command Scholaſticus, then exarch, began to pull down the images in the churches and public places at Ravenna; which incenſed the ſuperſtitious multitude to ſuch a degree, that they openly declared they would rather renounce their allegiance to the emperor, than the worſhip of images. They conſidered him as an abominable heretic, whom it was lawful to reſiſt by force, and took arms for that purpoſe [1].

LUITPRAND judged this the proper ſeaſon to put his ambitious project in execution. He ſuddenly aſſembled his forces, and unexpectedly appeared before Ravenna, not doubting but the reduction of that important place would be ſpeedily followed by the conqueſt of all the imperial dominions in Italy. The exarch, though little prepared for ſuch an aſſault, defended the city with much courage; but finding he could no longer hold out againſt ſo great a force, and deſpairing of relief, he privately withdrew. Luitprand, informed of this, made a vigorous attack; carried the city by ſtorm, and gave it up to be plundered by his ſoldiers, who found in it an immenſe booty, as it had been ſucceſſively the ſeat of the Weſtern emperors, of the Gothic kings, and of the exarchs. Alarmed at the fate of Ravenna, moſt other cities in the exarchate ſurrendered without reſiſtance [19]. Luitprand ſeemed, therefore, in a fair way to be maſter of all Italy: but that conqueſt neither he nor his ſucceſſors were ever able to complete; and the attempt proved fatal to the kingdom of the Lombards.

A. D. 742.

ROME, ITALY, CONSTANTINOPLE, *and* FRANCE, *from the Time of* CHARLES MARTEL *to that of* CHARLEMAGNE.

LET. III.

THOUGH Rome was now governed by a duke, who depended on the exarch of Ravenna, the pope, or biſhop, had the principal authority in that city. He was yet leſs conſpicuous by his revenue than the reſpect which religion inſpired for his ſee, and the confidence which was placed in his character. St. Gregory had negociated with princes upon ſeveral matters of ſtate; and his ſucceſſors divided their attention between clerical and political objects. To free themſelves from the dominion of the Greek emperors, without falling a prey to the kings of Italy, was the purpoſe of theſe ambitious prelates. To accompliſh this double aim, they employed ſucceſsfully both religion and intrigue, and eſtabliſhed a ſpiritual and temporal monarchy, which of all human inſtitutions, perhaps, moſt merits the attention of man, whether we conſider its nature, its progreſs, or its prodigious conſequences.

GREGORY II. had quarrelled with the emperor Leo, by oppoſing his edict againſt the worſhip of images: but he was more afraid of the growing power of the Lombards, than of the emperor's threats; he therefore reſolved to put a ſtop, if poſſible, to the conqueſts of Luitprand. The only prince in Italy, to whom he could have recourſe, was Urſus, duke of Venice, the Venetians making already no contemptible figure. Not leſs alarmed than Gregory at the progreſs of ſo powerful a neighbour, Urſus and the Venetians promiſed to aſſiſt the exarch (who had fled to them for protection) with the whole ſtrength of the republic. They accordingly fitted out a conſiderable fleet,

fleet, while the exarch conducted an army by land, and retook Ravenna, before Luitprand could march to its relief.

As the recovery of Ravenna had been principally owing to the interpoſition of Gregory, he hoped to be able to prevail on the emperor to revoke his edict againſt images; but Leo, ſenſible that the pope had been influenced merely by his own intereſt in the meaſures he had taken, was only more provoked at his obſtinacy, and reſolved that the edict ſhould be obeyed even in Rome itſelf. For this purpoſe he recalled Scholaſticus, ſtill exarch of Ravenna, and ſent in his ſtead Paul, a patrician, ordering him to get the pope aſſaſſinated, or to ſeize him, and ſend him in chains to Conſtantinople. But Gregory, in place of yielding to the emperor's threats, ſolemnly excommunicated the exarch for attempting to put the imperial edict in execution, exhorting all the Italian cities to continue ſteadfaſt in the catholic faith. Luitprand, though highly incenſed againſt Gregory, aſſiſted him in his diſtreſs; and the populace roſe at Ravenna, and murdered the exarch, making prodigious ſlaughter of the Iconoclaſts, or image-brokers, as they were called. The duke of Naples ſhared the ſame fate with the exarch. Leo, however, ſtill inſiſting that his favourite edict ſhould be enforced in Rome, the people of that city, at the inſtigation of Gregory, againſt whom every ſpecies of murder had been attempted, withdrew their allegiance from the Greek emperor[20]. Hence the riſe of the pope's temporal power.

LEO informed of this revolt, and not doubting who was the author of it, ordered a powerful army to be raiſed, with a deſign both to chaſtiſe the rebels, and take vengeance on the pope. Alarmed at theſe warlike preparations, Gregory looked round for ſome

LET. III

power on which he might depend for protection. The Lombards were poſſeſſed of ſufficient force, but they were too near neighbours to be truſted; and the Venetians, though zealous catholics, were not yet in a condition to withſtand the ſtrength of the empire. Spain was at that time over-run by the Saracens: the French ſeemed, therefore, the only people to whom it was adviſable to apply for aid, as they were at once able to oppoſe the emperor, and enemies to his edict. France was then governed by Charles Martel, the greateſt commander of his age. Gregory ſent a ſolemn embaſſy to Charles, entreating him to take the Romans and the church under his protection, and defend them againſt the attempts of Leo. The ambaſſadors were received with extraordinary marks of honour; a treaty was concluded [21]; and the French, glad to get any concern in the affairs of Italy, became the protectors of the church.

In the mean time conſiderable alterations were made by death. Gregory II. did not live to ſee his negociation with France finiſhed. He was ſucceeded in the ſee of Rome by Gregory III. and Leo Iſauricus was ſucceeded on the imperial throne by his ſon Conſtantine Copronymus, who not only renewed his father's edict againſt the worſhip of images, but prohibited the invocation of ſaints. This new edict confirmed the Romans in the reſolution they had taken of ſeparating themſelves entirely from the empire; more eſpecially as being now under the protection of France, they had nothing to fear from Conſtantinople: they therefore drove out of their city ſuch of the imperial officers as had hitherto been ſuffered to continue there; and aboliſhed, by that means, the very ſhadow of ſubjection to the emperor. Soon after Leo,

A. D. 741. died Charles Martel, and alſo Gregory III. who was ſucceeded in the ſee of Rome by Zachary, an active and

and enterprising prelate. Immediately after his election, he waited upon Luitprand, and obtained the restoration of four cities in the territory of Rome, which had been yielded to that prince as a ransom for the capital, when ready to fall into his hands [22]. LET. III.

LUITPRAND henceforth laid aside all ambitious thoughts, dying in peace with the church and with men. Rachis, his successor, confirmed the peace with Zachary; but being afterwards seized with a thirst of conquest, he invaded the Roman dukedom, and laid siege to Perugia. Zachary, before he solicited the assistance of France, the only power on which he could depend, resolved to try once more his personal influence. He accordingly went in person to the camp of Rachis; and being respectfully received by that prince, he represented so forcibly to him the punishment reserved for those who unjustly invade the property of others, that Rachis not only raised the siege, but was so much subdued by the eloquence of the pontiff, that he renounced his kingdom, and retired to the monastery of Monte Cassino; prostrating himself first at Zachary's feet, and taking the habit of St. Benedict [23]. A. D. 743. A. D. 751.

WHILE things were in this situation in Italy, Pepin, son of Charles Martel, governed France in the character of mayor, under Childeric II. and acquainted, no doubt, with the sentiments of the pope, proposed to Zachary a case of conscience, which had not hitherto been submitted to the bishop of Rome. He desired to know, whether a prince incapable of governing, or a minister vested with the royal authority, and who supported it with honour, ought to have the title of king. Zachary decided in favour of the minister; and the French clergy supported the pretensions of Pepin, because he had restored the lands

Let. III. of which Charles Martel had robbed them: the nobles reſpected him, becauſe he was powerful and brave; and the people deſpiſed the ſluggard kings, whom they ſcarcely knew by name. The judgment of the pope therefore ſilenced every ſcruple. Childeric was de-
A. D 752. poſed; or, more properly, degraded: for he could never be ſaid to reign. He was ſhut up in a monaſtery. Pepin was raiſed to the throne; and St. Boniface, biſhop of Mentz, the famous apoſtle of the Germans, anointed him ſolemnly at Soiſſons [24].

This ceremony of anointing, borrowed from the Jews, and hitherto unknown to the French nation, or at moſt only uſed on the converſion of Clovis, ſeemed to beſtow on the king a kind of divine character; and ſo far it was uſeful, by inſpiring reſpect. But as ignorance abuſes all things, the biſhops ſoon imagined they could confer royalty by anointing princes; an opinion which was followed by many fatal conſequences. The Eaſtern emperors had long been crowned by the patriarchs of Conſtantinople: the popes, in like manner, crowned the emperors of the Weſt. Crowning and anointing were ſuppoſed neceſſary to ſovereignty. A pious ceremony gave the church a power of diſpoſing of crowns.

These obſervations, my dear Boy, you will find frequent occaſion to apply. I throw them in here to awaken your attention. We muſt ſee things in their cauſes, to reaſon diſtinctly on their effects.

Success ſoon attended the crafty policy of the popes: the new king of France repaid their favour with intereſt. Aſtulphus, the ſucceſſor of Rachis, leſs piouſly inclined than his brother, thought only of conqueſt. In imitation of Luitprand, he reſolved to make himſelf maſter of all Italy; and, as the emperor Conſtantine Copronymus was now engaged in a

war againſt the Saracens and Bulgarians, and in a ſtill more hot and dangerous war againſt images, Aſtulphus judged this a proper ſeaſon to invade the imperial dominions. He accordingly entered the exarchate at the head of a conſiderable army, took Ravenna, ſubdued the whole province, and alſo Pentapolis, which he added to the kingdom of the Lombards, reducing the exarchate and its ancient metropolis to a dukedom [25]. A. D. 752.

AMBITION is only increaſed by conqueſt. Aſtulphus no ſooner ſaw himſelf maſter of Ravenna and its territory, than he began to lay claim to the Roman dukedom, and to Rome itſelf. He urged the right of conqueſt; which, he alledged, entitled him to the ſame power over that city and its dukedom that the emperors, and alſo the exarchs, their viceroys, had formerly enjoyed, as he was now in poſſeſſion of the whole exarchate: and, in order to enforce his demand, he marched his army towards Rome, reducing many cities in its neighbourhood, and threatening to put the inhabitants to the ſword, if they refuſed to acknowledge him as their ſovereign. Stephen III. then pope, no leſs alarmed at the approach of ſo powerful a monarch, than at the ſeverity of his meſſage, endeavoured to appeaſe him by a ſolemn embaſſy. But preſents, prayers, and entreaties, were employed in vain: Aſtulphus wanted to govern Rome.

STEPHEN at laſt ſenſible that force muſt be repelled by force, reſolved, in imitation of his predeceſſors, to crave the protection of France. He accordingly applied to Pepin, who mindful of his obligations to Zachary, and now firmly ſeated on the throne, readily promiſed the pope his aſſiſtance, and ſent two ambaſſadors to conduct him to Paris. Aſtulphus permitted him to paſs; and a treaty was concluded between Rome

LET. III. Rome and France, which led to the aggrandizement of both, at the expence of the emperors and the kings of Italy. Stephen anointed Pepin anew, with the holy unction, and alſo his two ſons, Charles and Carloman, declaring each of them *Romanorum Patricius*, or protector of the Roman people; and Pepin in return for theſe honours, promiſed to make a donation of the exarchate and Pentapolis to the Romiſh church [26].

BEFORE Pepin ſet out for Italy, he endeavoured, however, to perſuade Aſtulphus to be content with the dominions of his predeceſſors; to reſtore what he had conquered, and thus prevent the effuſion of Chriſtian blood. But finding the king of the Lombards deaf to
A. D. 754. his entreaties, he croſſed the Alps, and advanced to Pavia. Aſtulphus now convinced of his danger, ſued for peace, and obtained it, on condition that he ſhould deliver up to the pope, not to the emperor, all the places he had taken. He conſented; but inſtead of fulfilling his engagements, no ſooner did he think the ſtorm blown over by the departure of Pepin, than he broke anew into the Roman dukedom, took ſeveral cities, and laid ſiege to Rome.

IN this extremity, Stephen had again recourſe to his protector, the king of France, writing to him thoſe famous letters which are ſtill extant, and in which he artfully introduces St. Peter, to whom the donation of the exarchate had been made, conjuring Pepin, his two ſons, and the ſtates of France to come to his relief; promiſing them all good things, both in this world and the next, in caſe of compliance, and denouncing damnation as the reward of refuſal [27]. Pepin, much affected by this eloquence, wild as it may ſeem, croſſed the Alps a ſecond time, and Aſtulphus again took refuge in Pavia.

IN

LET. III.

In the mean time the emperor Conſtantine Copronymus, informed of the treaty between the king of France and the pope, by which the latter was to be put in poſſeſſion of the exarchate and Pentapolis, remonſtrated by his ambaſſadors againſt that agreement, offering to pay the expences of the war. But Pepin replied, that the exarchate belonged to the Lombards, who had acquired it by the right of arms, as the Romans had originally done; that the right of the Lombards was now in him, ſo that he could diſpoſe of that territory as he thought proper. He had beſtowed it, he ſaid, on St. Peter, that the catholic faith might be preſerved in its purity, free from the damnable hereſies of the Greeks; and all the money in the world, he added, ſhould never make him revoke this gift, which he was determined to maintain to the church with the laſt drop of his blood. In conſequence of this reſolution, the ambaſſadors were diſmiſſed, without being ſuffered to reply. Pepin preſſed the ſiege of Pavia; and Aſtulphus, finding himſelf unable to hold out, agreed to fulfil the former treaty, giving hoſtages as a pledge of his fidelity, and putting the pope immediately in poſſeſſion of Commachio, a place of great importance at that time [28].

A. D. 756.

Before Pepin returned to France, he renewed his donation to St. Peter [29], yielding to Stephen and his ſucceſſors the exarchate; Æmilia, now Romagna; and Pentapolis, now Marca d'Ancona; with all the cities therein, to be held by them for ever, the kings of France, as patricians, retaining only an ideal ſuperiority, which was ſoon forgot. Thus was the ſceptre added to the keys, the ſovereignty to the prieſthood, and the popes enriched with the ſpoils of the Lombard kings and the Roman emperors.

LET. III.

A. D. 756.

ASTULPHUS, ſoon after ratifying the treaty, was killed by accident, when he was preparing to recover his conqueſts. Pepin continued to extend his ſway and his renown till the year 768; when, after having impoſed tribute on the Saxons and Sclavonians, after having made the duke of Bavaria take an oath of fidelity, and reunited Acquitaine to his crown, equally reſpected at home and abroad, he died in the fifty-fourth year of his age, and the ſeventeenth of his reign. He never affected abſolute power, but referred all matters of importance to the national aſſemblies, of which he was the oracle. By the conſent of the nobles, he divided his kingdom between his two ſons, Charles and Carloman.

A. D. 768.

THE reign of Charles, known by the name of Charlemagne, or Charles the Great, forms a new era, and muſt be the ſubject of a future letter. In the mean time, we muſt trace the ſettlement of other Barbarians, and the riſe of another great kingdom.

LETTER

LETTER IV.

BRITAIN, *from the Time it was deſerted by the* ROMANS, *to the End of the* SAXON HEPTARCHY.

LET. IV.

THE affairs of our own iſland, my dear Boy, now claim your attention. It was abandoned by the Romans about the year 448, after they had been maſters of the ſouthern, and more fertile part of it, during the courſe of almoſt four centuries.

HISTORY, perhaps, does not afford ſo ſingular an inſtance of the debaſing effects of deſpotiſm, as in its influence on our ancient countrymen. No people were ever more brave, none more jealous of liberty, than the Britons. With ordinary weapons, and little knowledge of military diſcipline, they ſtruggled long with the Roman power, and were only ſubdued at laſt by reaſon of their want of union. But after a period of ſubjection, when the exigencies of the empire obliged the Romans to recall their legions from this iſland, and reſign to the inhabitants their native rights, the degenerate Britons were incapable of prizing the gift. Conſcious of their inability to protect themſelves, and wanting reſolution to attempt it, they would gladly have lived in ſecurity and ſlavery. They had therefore recourſe, again and again, to their conquerors: and the Romans, before they finally abandoned the iſland, aſſiſted the Britons in rebuilding the wall of Severus, which extended between the friths of Forth and Clyde, and was eſteemed by the Romans a neceſſary barrier firſt againſt the Caledonians, and afterwards againſt the Scots and Picts [1].

MUCH

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MUCH time has been ſpent in enquiring whence the Scots and Picts emigrated, and many diſputes have ariſen on the ſubject. The moſt probable opinion however ſeems to be, that they were two tribes of the native Britons, who at different times had fled from the dominion of the Romans, chuſing liberty and barren mountains, rather than fertile plains and ſlavery; yet ſome plauſible conjectures have been offered to prove, that the Scots were a colony from Ireland *, though of the ſame Celtic origin. But whoever they were, they are allowed to have been a brave and warlike people, who often invaded the Roman territories, and were greatly an over-match for the now effeminate and diſpirited Britons.

THESE two nations no ſooner heard of the departure of the Romans, than they conſidered the whole iſland as their own. One party croſſed the Forth, in boats made of leather, while another attacked with fury the wall which the Britons had repaired for their defence, but which they abandoned on the firſt aſſault, flying like timorous deer, and leaving their country an entire prey to the enemy. The Scots and Picts made a dreadful havock of the fugitives; and, meeting with no oppoſition, they laid all the ſouth part of the iſland waſte with fire and ſword. Famine followed, with all its horrid train. The miſerable Britons, in this frightful extremity, had once more recourſe
A. D. 448. to Rome. They writ to Ætius, then conſul the third time, and who governed the empire of the Weſt with an abſolute ſway, that memorable letter, entitled, *The Groans of the Britons*, and which paints their unhappy condition as ſtrongly as it is poſſible for words: "We know not," ſay they, "even which way to flee. "Chaſed by the barbarians to the ſea, and forced back "by the ſea upon the barbarians, we have only left "us the choice of two deaths; either to periſh by the "ſword,

"ſword, or be ſwallowed up by the waves[3]." What anſwer they received is uncertain; but it is well known they received no aſſiſtance, Rome being then threatened by Attila, the moſt terrible enemy that ever invaded the empire.

THE Britons, however, amid all their calamities had one conſolation, they had embraced Chriſtianity: a religion which above all others teaches the endurance of misfortunes, which triumphs in adverſity, and inſpires the ſoul with joy in the hour of affliction. Numbers of them fled over to Gaul, and ſettled in the province of Armorica, to which they gave the name of Britany; part of them ſubmitted to the Scots and Picts; and part, collecting courage from deſpair, ſallied from their woods and caves upon the ſecure and roving invaders, cut many of them to pieces, and obliged the reſt to retire to their own country. But the enemy threatening to return next ſeaſon with ſuperior forces, the diſtreſſed Britons, by the advice of Vortigern, prince of Dunmonium, who then poſſeſſed the principal authority among them, invited over, as a laſt reſource, the Saxons, and Angles, or Anglo-Saxons.

THE Saxons, like all the German tribes, of whoſe government and manners I have already ſpoke, were a free, brave, independent people, arrived at that degree of civilization in which the mind has acquired ſufficient light for enterprize, and ſeems to derive energy from the unimpaired vigour of the body. A nation, taken collectively, is never perhaps capable of ſuch great achievements as in this ſtate of half-refinement. The Saxons had ſpread themſelves from the Cimbrian Cherſoneſus, now Jutland, taking poſſeſſion of the whole country between the Rhine and the Elbe; and, when the Britons ſent to implore their aſſiſtance,

LET. IV. assistance, they were masters not only of the present Westphalia, Saxony, East and West Friseland, but also of Holland and Zealand. They readily complied with the request of the Britons; and, having fitted out three large ships, about fifteen hundred of them put to sea under the command of Hengist and Horsa, two of their princes, said to be descended from the fabulous god Woden.

A. D. 450. They landed in the isle of Thanet, which was assigned them as their habitation, and a league was entered into between them and the Britons [4]. Soon after their arrival, they marched against the Scots and Picts, who had made a new irruption, and advanced as far as Stanford. These northern ravagers, unable to withstand the valour of the Saxons, were routed with great slaughter; and the Britons, felicitating themselves on an expedient by which they had freed their country from so cruel an enemy, hoped henceforth to enjoy security under the protection of their warlike auxiliaries.

BUT mankind, in the possession of present good, are apt to overlook future evil: the Britons did not foresee that their deliverers were to be their conquerors; though it must have been evident to any disinterested observer, that the day of subjection was nigh. The reflections of Hengist and Horsa, after their victory over the Scots and Picts, were very different from those of the Britons: they considered with what ease they might subdue a people, who had been unable to resist such feeble invaders; and sent intelligence to their countrymen of the fertility and opulence of Britain, inviting them to come and share in the spoils of a nation, without union and without valour, sunk in luxury and effeminacy [5].

THE invitation was readily accepted. Seventeen ships soon arrived with five thousand men, who, joined

joined to thoſe already in the iſland, formed a conſiderable army. The Britons, though were now juſtly alarmed at the number of their allies, ſought ſecurity and relief only in a paſſive ſubmiſſion; and even that unmanly expedient ſoon failed them. The Saxons pulled off the maſk, complaining that their ſubſidies were ill paid, and demanding larger ſupplies of corn and other proviſions; which being refuſed, as exorbitant, they formed an alliance with the Scots and Picts, and proceeded to open hoſtilities againſt thoſe whom they had come over to protect[6]. LET. IV.

THE Britons were at laſt under the neceſſity of taking arms; and having depoſed Vortigern, who was become odious by his vices, and the unfortunate iſſue of his raſh councils, they put themſelves under the command of his ſon Vortimer. Many battles were fought between the Saxons and Britons with various ſucceſs, though commonly on the ſide of the former; and, in one of theſe battles, the Saxon general Horſa was ſlain. The ſole command now devolved upon Hengiſt; who, continually reinforced by freſh ſupplies from Germany, carried deſolation to the moſt remote poſſeſſions of the Britons. Anxious to ſpread the terror of his arms, he ſpared neither age, ſex, nor condition. The deſcription is too horrible to read; and, for the honour of humanity, one would willingly ſuppoſe it untrue.

OF the unhappy Britons, who eſcaped the general ſlaughter, ſome took refuge among inacceſſible rocks and mountains; many periſhed by hunger; and many forſaking their aſylum, preſerved their lives at the expence of their liberty: others, croſſing the ſea, took ſhelter among their countrymen in Armorica. Thoſe who remained at home ſuffered every ſpecies of miſery. They were not only robbed of all temporal but ſpi-

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ritual benefits. In this extremity, a Britiſh and a Chriſtian hero appeared: Arthur, prince of the Silures, revived the expiring valour of his countrymen, and defeated the Saxons in ſeveral engagements, particu-
A. D. 520. larly in the famous battle of Badon-hill, which procured the Britons tranquility for upwards of forty years. But the ſucceſs of Hengiſt and his followers having excited the ambition of other German tribes, who arriving at different times, and under different leaders, but all ſpeaking one language, being governed by the ſame regulations, and paſſing under the common appellation of Saxons, or Angles, were naturally led to unite againſt the ancient inhabitants of the iſland, the Britons found themſelves unequal to the conteſt, and retired to the mountains of Cornwal and
A. D. 585. Wales, where they formed independent principalities, protected by their remote and inacceſſible ſituation[7].

THE Saxons, Angles, or Anglo-Saxons, for they are mentioned under all theſe different names[8], were now abſolute maſters of the whole fertile and cultivated part of Britain, which had changed not only its inhabitants, but its language, cuſtoms, and political inſtitutions. Hiſtory affords few conqueſts more bloody, and few revolutions ſo violent, as that effected by the Saxons. In the courſe of their wars with the Britons, which continued almoſt a hundred and fifty years, they had eſtabliſhed ſeveral ſeparate kingdoms, the ſeventh and laſt of which was that of Northumberland. The names of the other kingdoms were Kent, Suſſex, Eſſex, Weſſex, Mercia, and Eaſt Anglia. Theſe ſeven kingdoms formed what is commonly called the Saxon Heptarchy.

WHILE the Saxons ſtruggled with the Britons for dominion, their ſeveral princes united againſt the common enemy, and an union of councils and intereſts were

were preſerved; but after the wretched natives were ſhut up in their barren mountains, and the conquerors under no apprehenſions from them, the bond of alliance was in a great meaſure diſſolved among the princes of the Heptarchy: and although one prince ſeems ſtill to have aſſumed, or to have been allowed an aſcendant over the reſt, his authority was ſo very limited, that each ſtate acted as if entirely independant. Jealouſies and diſſentions aroſe among the Saxon chiefs, and theſe were followed by perpetual wars; which, in Milton's opinion, are no more worthy of a particular narration, than the combats of kites or crows: and, independent of ſo great an authority, which however it would be preſumption to ſlight, it may be ſafely affirmed, that the barren records tranſmitted to us, and the continued barbarities of the times, render it impoſſible for the moſt eloquent and diſcerning writer to make this portion of our hiſtory either inſtructive or entertaining. It will therefore be ſufficient to obſerve, that, after a variety of inferior revolutions, the ſeven kingdoms of the Saxon Heptarchy were united under Egbert, king of Weſſex, in the year 827 [9]. His dominions were nearly of the ſame extent with what is now properly called England, a name which was given to the empire of the Saxons in Britain, immediately after the termination of the Heptarchy.

D. D. 827.

THE Saxons, before this period, had been converted to Chriſtianity by the preaching of Auguſtine, a Roman monk, and the zeal of Bertha, daughter of Caribert, king of Paris, and wife to Ethelbert, king of Kent; but as they received that doctrine through the polluted channels of the church of Rome, though it opened an intercourſe with the more poliſhed ſtates of Europe, it had not hitherto been very effectual either in purifying their minds, or ſoftening their

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manners. The groſſeſt ignorance and ſuperſtition every where prevailed. Reverences to ſaints and reliques ſeemed to have ſupplanted the worſhip of the ſupreme Being; donations to the church atoned for every violation of the laws of ſociety; and monaſtic obſervances were more eſteemed than moral virtues. Even the military virtues, ſo habitual to the Saxons, began to fall into neglect. The nobility themſelves came to prefer the indolence and ſecurity of the cloiſter to the toils and tumults of war; and the crown, impoveriſhed by continual benefactions to the church, had no rewards for the encouragement of valour.

THIS corrupt ſpecies of Chriſtianity was attended with another train of inconveniencies, proceeding from a ſuperſtitious attachment to the ſee of Rome. The Britons had conducted all eccleſiaſtical matters by their own ſynods and councils, acknowledging no ſubordination to the Roman pontiff; but the Saxons having received their religion from Italian monks, were taught to conſider Rome as the capital of their faith. Pilgrimages to that city were accordingly repreſented as the moſt meritorious acts of devotion; and not only noblemen and ladies of rank undertook this tedious journey, but kings themſelves, reſigning their crowns, implored a ſafe paſſport to heaven at the foot of St. Peter's chair, and changed the purple for the ſackcloth[10].

BUT England, even in thoſe times of Britiſh darkneſs, gave birth to ſome men equal, at leaſt, to any of the age in which they lived. Offa, king of Mercia, was thought worthy the friendſhip of Charlemagne, the greateſt prince that Europe had produced for many centuries; and Alcuin, an Engliſh clergyman, had the honour of inſtructing that illuſtrious monarch in the

the ſciences, at a time when he was ſurrounded by all the literati of Chriſtendom. LET. V.

HAVING mentioned Charlemagne, I ſhall return to the hiſtory of that great conqueror and legiſlator, before we proceed to the reign of Egbert; who, as you will afterwards have occaſion to obſerve, was educated in the court, and in the armies of the new emperor of the Weſt. But in the mean time, my dear Boy, I muſt ſay a few words of the government, laws, and manners of the Saxons, after their ſettlement in Britain.

LETTER V.

The GOVERNMENT, LAWS, *and* MANNERS *of the* SAXONS *in* BRITAIN.

LET. V.

HAD the Saxons, on their ſettlement in Britain, eſtabliſhed the ſame form of government with the other northern nations that ſeized the provinces of the Roman empire, this Letter would have been in a great meaſure unneceſſary; but, as they rather exterminated than ſubdued the natives, and were under few apprehenſions from foreign enemies, they had no occaſion to burden themſelves with feudal ſervices. They therefore retained their civil and military inſtitutions: they tranſplanted into this iſland thoſe principles of liberty and independency which they had ſo highly cheriſhed at home; which had been tranſmitted to them from their anceſtors; and which ſtill continue to flouriſh among their deſcendants. Their original conſtitution was a kind of military democracy, in which the protection of the ſtate was the voluntary care of its members, as every freeman had a ſhare in the government; and conqueſt was the intereſt of all, as all partook in the acquiſitions. Their king, or chieftain, was only the firſt citizen of the community; his authority was extremely limited, and depended, as did his ſtation, principally on his perſonal qualities. The ſucceſſion was neither elective nor hereditary. A ſon who inherited his father's virtues and talents, was ſure to ſucceed to his ſway; but if he happened to be weak, wicked, or under age, the next in blood was generally raiſed to the throne, or the perſon of moſt eminence in the ſtate [1].

We

WE owe to the maſterly pen of Tacitus this account of the primitive government of the Saxons, who were a tribe of the Cimbri; but the Saxon annals are too imperfect to enable us to delineate exactly the prerogatives of the crown, and the privileges of the people, after their ſettlement in Britain. The government might be ſomewhat different in the different kingdoms of the Heptarchy, and might alſo undergo ſeveral changes before the Norman conqueſt; but of theſe changes we are ignorant. We only know, that at all times, and in all the kingdoms, there was a national council, a Wittenagemot, or aſſembly of the wiſe men, whoſe conſent was neceſſary to the enacting of laws, and to give ſanction to the meaſures of public adminiſtration: but who the conſtituent members of this aſſembly were, has not hitherto been determined with certainty. The moſt probable conjecture however ſeems to be, that it conſiſted of the nobility, the principal clergy, and all freeholders poſſeſſing a certain portion of land, but how much cannot now be diſtinctly aſcertained, though it appears to have been very conſiderable; for notwithſtanding what has been aſſerted by our popular writers, the repreſentatives of boroughs could have no ſhare in ſuch aſſembly, the burgeſſes all over Europe being excluded from the national councils till a much later period, and in a condition little ſuperior to that of ſlavery [2]. Trade and induſtry were then of no repute. Beſides, the ancient hiſtorians in mentioning the members of the Wittenagemot, almoſt always call them the *principes*, *ſatrapæ*, *optimates*, *magnates*, *proceres*, terms by no means applicable to the commons.

THE Saxons, like all the German nations, were divided into three orders of men, the noble, the free, and the ſervile. Theſe diſtinctions they brought into Britain with them. The nobles were called Thanes,

LET. V.

and were of two kinds, the greater and leſſer thanes. The latter ſeem to have had ſome dependence on the former, as the former had on the king, but of what nature is uncertain. The lower kind of freemen among the Saxons were denominated Ceorles, and were chiefly employed in huſbandry. Whence a huſbandman and ceorle came to be ſynonymous terms. They farmed the lands of the nobility, or higher orders, and appear to have been removable at pleaſure. But the ſlaves, or Villains, were by much the moſt numerous claſs in the community; and being the property of their maſters, were conſequently incapable of holding any property themſelves. They were of two kinds; houſhold ſlaves, after the manner of the ancients, and ruſtic ſlaves, who were ſold and transferred, like cattle, with the ſoil. The long wars between the Saxons and the Britons, and afterwards between the different kingdoms of the Heptarchy, ſeem to have been the cauſe of the diſproportionate number of theſe unhappy men; for priſoners taken in battle, or carried off by violence, were reduced to ſlavery by the laws of war, and entirely at the diſpoſal of their lords [3].

THE higher nobility and dignified clergy among the Saxons poſſeſſed a criminal juriſdiction within their own territories, and could puniſh without appeal ſuch as they judged worthy of death. This was a dangerous privilege, and liable to the greateſt abuſe; but, tho' the Saxon government ſeems at laſt to have become in a great meaſure ariſtocratical, there were ſtill conſiderable remains of the ancient democracy. All the freeholders aſſembled twice a-year in the county-courts, or Shiremotes, to receive appeals from the inferior courts: a practice well calculated for the preſervation of general liberty, and for reſtraining the exorbitant power of the nobles. In theſe courts they decided

cided

cided all cauſes eccleſiaſtical as well as civil, the biſhop and alderman, or earl, preſiding over them. The caſe was determined by a majority of voices, without much pleading, formality, or delay; the biſhop and earl having no further authority than to keep order among the freeholders, and offer their advice when neceſſary [4]. Tho' it ſhould therefore be granted, that the Wittenagemot was compoſed entirely of the greater thanes and dignified clergy, yet in a government where few taxes were impoſed by the legiſlature, and few ſtatutes enacted; where the nation was leſs governed by laws than by cuſtoms, which allowed much latitude of interpretation, the county-courts, where all the freeholders were admitted, and which regulated all the daily occurrences of life, formed a wide baſis for freedom.

THE criminal laws among the Saxons, as in moſt barbarous nations, were uncommonly mild; a compenſation in money being ſufficient for murder of any kind, and for the life of perſons of any rank, not excepting the king and the archbiſhop, whoſe head, by the laws of Kent, was eſtimated higher than the king's. The price of all kinds of wounds was alſo ſettled; and he who was caught in adultery with his neighbour's wife, was ordered by the laws of Ethelbert to pay him a fine, and buy him another wife: a proof, though ſomewhat equivocal, of the eſtimation in which women were then held. The puniſhments for robbery were various, but none of them capital. If any perſon could track his ſtolen cattle into another's ground, the owner of the ground was obliged to ſhew their tracks out of it, or pay the value of the cattle [5].

BUT if the puniſhments of crimes among the Saxons were ſingular, their proofs were no leſs ſo. When any controverſy about a fact was too intricate for the ignorant judges

LET. V.

judges to unravel, they had recourſe to what they called the Judgment of God; or, in other words, to chance. Their methods of conſulting this blind divinity were various, but the moſt common was the ordeal. This method of trial was practiſed either by boiling water or red-hot iron. The water or iron was conſecrated by many prayers, maſſes, faſtings, and exorciſms; after which the perſon accuſed either took up, with his naked hand, a ſtone ſunk in the water to a certain depth, or carried the iron to a certain diſtance. The hand was immediately wrapped up, and the covering ſealed for three days; and if on examining it there appeared no marks of burning, the perſon accuſed was pronounced innocent: if otherwiſe, he was declared guilty [5]. The ſame modes of proof, or others equally extravagant, obtained among the nations on the continent; and money, in like manner, was every where the atonement of guilt, both in a civil and eccleſiaſtical ſenſe.

OF the manners of the Saxons we can ſay but little. As they introduced themſelves with the deſtruction of every monument of civilization, they appear to have remained a rude uncultivated people, in a great meaſure ignorant of letters, and unſkilful in the mechanical arts. With the arts of elegance they were as little acquainted, as with the pleaſures of poliſhed life. They were much addicted to intemperance, riot, and diſorder, ſubmitting unwillingly to the reſtraints of law or government. Their beſt qualities were their courage, and their love of liberty and independency; but their courage was ſeldom ſupported by conduct, and their want of fidelity to their prince, or to their aſſociates, of which the examples are but too frequent, throws a ſhade over the moſt amiable virtue of this people. Humanity ſeems never to have formed

formed any part of their character, and gallantry appears to have been unknown among them [7]. But of the juſtice of this remark, and of all the foregoing obſervations, you will be better able to judge, when you have read the ſubſequent part of the hiſtory of theſe founders of the Engliſh monarchy. LET. V.

LETTER

LETTER VI.

The Reign of CHARLEMAGNE, *or* CHARLES *the* GREAT, *King of* FRANCE *and Emperor of the* WEST.

LET. VI.

CHARLES and Carloman, the two ſons of Pepin, and his ſucceſſors in the French monarchy, were men of very different diſpoſitions. Charles was open and generous, Carloman dark and ſuſpicious; it was
A. D. 771. therefore happy for mankind, that Carloman died ſoon after his father, as perpetual wars muſt have been the conſequence of the oppoſite tempers and interfering intereſts of the brothers. Now alone at the head of a powerful kingdom, Charles's great and ambitious genius ſoon gave birth to projects which will render his name immortal. A proſperous reign of forty-ſix years, abounding with military enterpriſes, political inſtitutions, and literary foundations, offers to view in the midſt of babariſm, a ſpectacle worthy of more poliſhed ages.

BUT, before we proceed to the hiſtory of this illuſtrious reign, I muſt ſay a few words of the ſtate of Germany at that time.

GERMANY was anciently poſſeſſed by a number of free and independent nations, who bravely defended their liberties againſt the Romans, and were never totally ſubjected by them. On the decline of the Roman empire, many of thoſe nations left their native country, and founded empires of their own; ſo that Germany, at the acceſſion of Charlemagne to the

crown of France, was principally occupied by the Saxons. Of their government, I have already ſpoken. They were ſtill Pagans. What was then conſidered as their territory, comprehended a vaſt tract of country. It was bounded on the weſt by the German ocean, by Bohemia on the eaſt, on the north by the ſea, and on the ſouth by Germanic France, extending along the Lower Rhine, and from Iſſel beyond Mentz. This extenſive empire was governed by an infinite number of independent princes, and inhabited by a variety of tribes, under different names; who, by reaſon of their want of union, had become tributary to the French monarchs: but whenever the throne of France was vacated, or when the kings of France were engaged either in foreign or domeſtic wars, the Saxon princes threw off their allegiance, and entered the French territories [1]. Charles had occaſion to quell one of theſe revolts immediately after the death of his brother; and the work was but imperfectly effected, before his arms were wanted in another quarter.

CHARLES and Carloman had married the two daughters of Deſiderius, king of the Lombards. Carloman left two ſons by his wife Berta; but Charles ſoon divorced his, under pretence that ſhe was incapable of bearing children, and married Ildegarda, a princeſs of Suevia. Berta, the widow of Carloman, not thinking herſelf and her children ſafe in France after the death of her huſband, fled to her father in Italy, and put herſelf and her two ſons under his protection. Deſiderius received them with joy. Highly incenſed againſt Charles for divorcing his other daughter, he hoped by their means to raiſe diſturbances in France, which might both gratify his revenge, and prevent the French monarch from intermeddling in the affairs of Italy. In this hope Deſiderius was much encouraged by his intimacy with pope Adrian I. to whom he propoſed

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poſed the crowning and anointing of Carloman's two ſons. But Adrian refuſed to comply with his requeſt; ſenſible that by ſo doing he ſhould incur the diſpleaſure of Charles, the natural ally of the church, and the only prince capable of protecting him againſt his ambitious enemies. Incenſed at this refuſal, Deſiderius ravaged the papal territories; or, as they were called, the *Patrimony of St. Peter*, and threatened to lay ſiege to Rome itſelf. In order to avert the danger, Adrian reſolved to have recourſe to France, in imitation of his predeceſſors. Accordingly he ſent ambaſſadors privately to Charlemagne, not only imploring his aſſiſtance, but inviting him to the conqueſt of Italy. Charles, who waited only an opportunity to revenge himſelf on Deſiderius for keeping his nephews, and ſtill more for wanting to crown them, received the pope's invitation with incredible ſatisfaction: he immediately left Germany, concluding a kind of treaty with the Saxons, and collected ſuch an army as evidently ſhewed, that his object was nothing leſs than the extinction of the kingdom of the Lombards [2].

DESIDERIUS informed of theſe preparations, put himſelf at the head of a great army, and ſent ſeveral bodies of troops to guard the paſſes in the Alps: but Charlemagne, appriſed of this precaution, ſent a detachment under experienced guides to croſs the mountains another way, which they happily effected; and falling unexpectedly upon the Lombards, who guarded the paſſes, ſtruck them with ſuch terror, that they fled in the utmoſt confuſion. Charles therefore entered Italy unmoleſted, and marched in queſt of Deſiderius; who, finding himſelf unable to keep the field, retired to Pavia, his capital, ſending his ſon Adalgiſus, and his daughter Berta, the widow of Carloman, with her two ſons, to Verona, a place not inferior in ſtrength to Pavia.

A. D. 773.

As

As ſoon as Charlemagne underſtood that Deſiderius had taken ſhelter in Pavia, he aſſembled his whole army, and laid ſiege to that city, reſolving not to withdraw his forces till it had ſubmitted; but, as the Lombards made a vigorous defence, he changed the ſiege into a blockade, and marched with part of his troops to inveſt Verona. Adalgiſus defended the place for ſome time, with much bravery; but finding himſelf, at laſt, reduced to great extremities, and deſpairing of relief, he ſecretly withdrew, and fled to Conſtantinople, where he was cordially received by the emperor. Verona now ſurrendered to Charles; A. D. 774. who having got Berta, his brother's widow, and her two ſons into his power, ſent them immediately, under a ſtrong guard, into France; but what afterwards became of them, hiſtory has not told us. It is much to be feared, however, that their fate was little to the honour of the conqueror. Humanity was not the characteriſtic of thoſe times.

THE ſiege of Pavia was now carried on with freſh vigour; but the feſtival of Eaſter approaching, which Charles had reſolved to ſpend at Rome, he left the conduct of the ſiege once more to his uncle Bernard. The pope received his deliverer in the moſt pompous manner, the magiſtrates and judges walking before him with their banners, and the clergy repeating, "Bleſſed is he that cometh in the name of the Lord!" After Charles had ſatisfied his curioſity, and confirmed the donation which his father Pepin had made to St. Peter, he returned to the camp before Pavia. The Lombards ſtill continued to defend that city with great valour, ſo that the ſiege was little, if at all advanced: but a violent plague breaking out among the beſieged, the unfortunate Deſiderius was obliged at laſt to ſurrender his capital, and deliver up himſelf, A. D. 774. his wife, and his children, to Charles, who ſent them all

LET. VI. all into France, where they either died a violent death, or languiſhed out their days in obſcurity, being never more heard of [3].

THUS ended the kingdom of the Lombards in Italy, after it had ſubſiſted two hundred and ſix years. They are repreſented by the monkiſh hiſtorians, as a cruel and barbarous people, becauſe they oppoſed the ambitious views of the popes; but the many wholeſome laws which they left behind them, and which devouring time has ſtill ſpared, are convincing proofs of their juſtice, humanity, and wiſdom.

A SHORT account of the ſtate of Italy at the time of Charlemagne will here be proper, and alſo of the new form of government introduced there by the conqueror.

ITALY was then ſhared by the Venetians, the Lombards, the popes, and the emperors of the Eaſt. The Venetians were become very conſiderable by their trade to the Levant, and bore no ſmall ſway in the affairs of Italy, though it does not appear that they had yet any town on the *terra firma*, or continent. The pope, by the generoſity of Pepin and his ſon Charles, was maſter of the exarchate and Pentapolis. The dukedom of Naples, and ſome cities in the two Calabrias, were ſtill held by the emperors of the Eaſt. All the other provinces of Italy belonged to the Lombards; viz. the three celebrated dukedoms, Friuli, Spoleto, and Benevento, together with the provinces of Liguria, Venetia, Tuſcany, and the Alpes Cottiæ, which were properly called the kingdom of the Lombards. Theſe Charles claimed by right of conqueſt,
A. D. 774. and cauſed himſelf, in imitation of them, to be crowned king of Italy, with an iron crown [4], which is ſtill preſerved in the little town of Monza.

THE

THE ceremony of the coronation being over, Charles thought it neceſſary to ſettle the government of his new kingdom, before he left Italy; and, after conſulting with the pope, who declared him patrician of Rome, and protector of the apoſtolic ſee, he agreed that the people ſhould be permitted to live under their former laws, and that all things ſhould continue as eſtabliſhed by his predeceſſors. Accordingly he allowed the dukes of Friuli, Spoleto, and Benevento, the ſame authority which they had enjoyed under the Lombard kings. He alſo permitted the other dukes to hold their dukedoms, contenting himſelf with the oath of allegiance, which he obliged them, and likewiſe the three great dukes, to take annually. It was conceived in theſe words: "I promiſe, without fraud "or deceit, to be faithful to my ſovereign Charles, "and his ſons, as long as I live; and I ſwear, by "theſe Holy Goſpels, that I will be faithful to him, "as a vaſſal to his lord and ſovereign; neither will I "divulge any thing, which, in virtue of my allegi-"ance, he ſhall commit to me." He never transferred a dukedom from one family to another, unleſs when the duke broke his oath, or died without male iſſue. This tranſlation from one to another was called *inveſtiture*; and hence it came, that fiefs were not granted but by inveſtiture, as was afterwards the caſe with reſpect to other vaſſals and feudatories [5].

CHARLES committed the boundaries of his new kingdom, and the territory of cities, to the care of counts, who were veſted with great authority. Theſe boundaries were called Marchæ, or Marches, and thoſe who had the care of them were ſtiled Counts of the Marches, or Marquiſes; and hence the title marquis had its riſe. He alſo ſent occaſionally *miſſi*, or commiſſaries, who were veſted with greater authority, and examined the conduct of the counts, whoſe pro-

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vince it was to adminiſter juſtice over all the dominions of Charlemagne.—That Italy might retain at leaſt ſome ſhadow of liberty, he convened, as often as he returned thither, a general aſſembly of all the biſhops, abbots, and barons of the kingdom, in order to ſettle the affairs of national importance. The Lombards had but one order in the ſtate, compoſed of the barons and judges; but the French, in the time of Charlemagne, had two, the clergy and nobility: hence was added by Charles in Italy, after the manner of France, the order of eccleſiaſtics to that of the barons or nobles [6].

THE affairs of Italy being thus ſettled, Charles returned to France, and marched immediately againſt the Saxons, who had again revolted during his abſence: but his wars with that barbarous, though brave and independent people, which laſted upwards of thirty years, and which formed the principal buſineſs of his reign, could afford little pleaſure to a humanized mind. I ſhall therefore only obſerve, that after a number of battles gallantly fought, and many cruelties commited on both ſides, the Saxons were totally ſubjected, and Germany became part of the empire of Charlemagne. A deſire of converting the Saxons to Chriſtianity ſeems to have been one of the principal motives for proſecuting this conqueſt; and as they were no leſs tenacious of their religion than their liberty, perſecution marched in the train of war, and ſtained with blood the fetters of ſlavery.

A. D. 805.

WITIKIND, ſo deſervedly celebrated by his nation, was the moſt eminent Saxon general during theſe hoſtilities. He frequently rouſed the drooping valour of his countrymen, and revived in their hearts the love of liberty and independency. Nor were they wanting to him in attachment, for which they ſeverely paid.

After

After an unfortunate revolt, when they went to make ſubmiſſion to Charlemagne, he ordered four thouſand five hundred of their principal men to be maſſacred, becauſe they refuſed to deliver up their general [7]. An equal inſtance of ſeverity is not, perhaps, to be met with in the hiſtory of mankind; particularly if we conſider, that the Saxons were not Charles's natural ſubjects, but an independent people ſtruggling for freedom. Witikind at laſt ſubmitted, and embraced Chriſtianity, continuing ever after faithful to his engagements. But he could never inſpire his aſſociates with the ſame docile ſentiments: they were continually revolting; and ſubmitting, that they might have it in their power to revolt again. On the final reduction of their country, the more reſolute ſpirits retired into Scandinavia, carrying along with them their vindictive hatred to the dominion and the religion of France.

A WORD here of religion. Charlemagne very juſtly conſidered the mild doctrines of Chriſtianity as the beſt means of taming a ſavage people; but he was miſtaken in ſuppoſing, that force will ever make Chriſtians. His Capitulars for the Saxons are almoſt as barbarous as their manners. He obliges them, under pain of death, to receive baptiſm; he condemns to the ſevereſt puniſhments the breakers of Lent: in a word, he every where ſubſtitutes force for perſuaſion. Inſtead therefore of blaming the obſtinacy of theſe barbarians, we ought to be filled with horror at the cruel bigotry of the conqueror.•

ALMOST every year of Charles's reign was ſignalized by ſome military expedition, tho' very different from thoſe of our times. War was then carried on without any ſettled plan of operations. The troops were neither regularly diſciplined nor paid. Every nobleman led forth his vaſſals, who were only obliged

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to ſerve for a certain time; ſo that there was a kind of neceſſity of concluding the war with the campaign. The army was diſſolved, and aſſembled next ſeaſon, if neceſſary. Hence we are enabled to account for a circumſtance, which would otherwiſe appear inexplicable, in the reign of this great prince. — Beſides the Lombards and Saxons, whom he conquered, Charles vanquiſhed in ſeveral engagements the Abares, or Huns, plundered their capital, and penetrated as far as Raab, on the Danube. He likewiſe made an expedition into Spain, and carried his arms to the banks of the Ebro[8].

ABDERAMAN, the Mooriſh king, whom I have already mentioned, ſtill reigned with luſtre at Cordova. A ſuperb moſque, now the cathedral of that city, ſix hundred feet in length, and two hundred and fifty in breadth, ſupported by three hundred and ſixty-five columns of alabaſter, jaſper, and black marble, continues to manifeſt the grandeur of this monarch. No other people but the Arabs could then either have conceived, or executed, ſuch a work. The little Chriſtian king of the Aſturias had prudently ſued for peace from Abderaman; but the Mooriſh governors of Saragoſſa and Arragon revolted, and implored the aſſiſtance of Charlemagne, offering to acknowledge him as their ſovereign. Charles, willing to extend his empire on that ſide, croſſed the Pyrenees with all expedition, took Pampeluna and Saragoſſa, and re-eſtabliſhed the Mooriſh governors, under his protection. In repaſſing the mountains, his rear-guard was defeated by the duke of Gaſcony, at Rancevaux[9], Here fell the famous Roland ſo much celebrated in Romance, and repreſented as nephew to Charlemagne; tho' hiſtory only tells us, that he commanded on the frontiers of Bretagne.

A. D. 778.

BUT

But Charles, though engaged in ſo many wars, was far from neglecting the arts of peace, the happineſs of his ſubjects, or the cultivation of his own mind. Government, manners, religion, and letters, were his conſtant ſtudy. He frequently convened the national aſſemblies, for regulating affairs both of church and ſtate. In theſe aſſemblies he propoſed ſuch laws as he conſidered to be of public benefit, and allowed the ſame liberty to others: but of this liberty, indeed, it would have been difficult to deprive the French nobles, who had been accuſtomed from the foundation of the monarchy to ſhare the legiſlation with their ſovereign. His attention extended to the moſt diſtant corner of his empire, and to all ranks of men. Senſible how much mankind in general reverence old cuſtoms, and thoſe conſtitutions under which they have lived from their youth, he permitted the inhabitants of all the countries that he conquered to retain their own laws, making only ſuch alterations as he judged abſolutely neceſſary for the good of the community. He was particularly tender of the common people, and every where ſtudied their eaſe and advantage. This benevolence of mind, which can never be ſufficiently admired, was both more neceſſary and more meritorious in thoſe times, as the commonalty were then in a ſtate of almoſt univerſal oppreſſion, and ſcarely thought entitled to the common ſympathies of humanity. The ſame love of mankind led him to repair and form public roads; to build bridges, where neceſſary; to make rivers navigable, for the purpoſes of commerce; and to project the famous canal, which would have opened a communication between the Ocean and the Black-Sea, by uniting the Danube and the Rhine [10]. This illuſtrious project failed in the execution, for want of thoſe machines which art has ſince conſtructed; but the greatneſs of the conception, and the honour of having attempted it, were

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beyond the power of contingencies: and poſterity has done juſtice to the memory of Charles, by conſidering him, on account of this and his other public-ſpirited plans, as one of thoſe few conquerors who did not merely deſolate the earth; as a hero truly worthy of the name, who ſought to unite his own glory with the welfare of his ſpecies.

THIS great prince was not leſs amiable in private life, than illuſtrious in his public character. He was an affectionate father, a fond huſband, and a generous friend. His houſe was a model of economy, and his perſon of ſimplicity and true grandeur. "For ſhame!" ſaid he to ſome of his nobles, who were finer dreſſed than the occaſion required, "learn to dreſs like men, and let the world judge of your rank by your merit, not your habit. Leave ſilks and finery to women; or reſerve them for thoſe days of pomp and ceremony, when robes are worn for ſhew, not uſe." On ſuch occaſions he appeared himſelf in imperial magnificence, and freely indulged in every luxury; but in general his dreſs was plain, and his table frugal. His only exceſs was in the pleaſure of the ſexes, at once the moſt natural and the moſt excuſable; and this he ſometimes carried to ſo great a degree, as to endanger his very athletic conſtitution, being almoſt ſeven foot high, and proportionably ſtrong. He had his ſet hours for ſtudy, which he ſeldom omitted, either in the camp or the court; and, notwithſtanding his continual wars, and unremitted attention to the affairs of a great empire, he found leiſure to collect the old French poems, and hiſtorical ballads, with a view to illuſtrate the hiſtory of the monarchy. The loſs of this collection is much to be lamented, and could never have happened, if every one had been as well acquainted with its importance as Charles. But he was the phœnix of his age; and, though not altogether

ther free from its prejudices, his liberal and extenſive genius, which examined every thing, and yet found time for all things, would have done honour to the moſt enlightened period. He was fond of the company of learned men, and aſſembled them about him from all parts of Europe, forming in his palace a kind of academy, of which he himſelf condeſcended to become a member. He alſo eſtabliſhed ſchools, in the cathedrals and principal abbies, for teaching writing, arithmetic, grammar, and church-muſic [11]; certainly no very elevated ſciences, yet conſiderable at a time, when many dignified eccleſiaſtics could not ſubſcribe the canons of thoſe councils in which they ſat as members [12], and when it was deemed a ſufficient qualification for a prieſt to be able to read the Goſpels, and underſtand the Lord's Prayer [13].

ALCUIN, our learned countryman, was the companion, and particular favourite of Charlemagne; inſtructed him in the ſciences, and was at the head of his Royal Academy. A circumſtance ſo much to the honour of this iſland ſhould be omitted by no Britiſh hiſtorian. Three rich abbies were the reward of the learning and talents of Alcuin. This benevolence has been thought to border on profuſion; but in that age of darkneſs, when even an enthuſiaſtic zeal for letters was a virtue, no encouragement could be too great for the illuminators of the human mind.

HAD Charles's religious enthuſiaſm been attended with no worſe conſequences than his literary, his piety would have been as deſervedly admired as his taſte; but a blind zeal for the propagation of Chriſtianity, which extinguiſhed his natural feelings made him guilty, as we have already ſeen, of ſeverities, that ſhock humanity; and a ſuperſtitious attachment to the ſee of Rome, which mingled itſelf with his policy, led him to engage in theological diſputes and quibbles unworthy of his

LET. VI. character. The honours which his father Pepin and he owed to the popes can only render him in any degree excuſable. But tho' the theological ſide of Charles's character is by no means the brighteſt, it merits your attention, as it ſerves to ſhew the prejudices of the age, the littleneſſes of a great man, and the great effects that frequently proceed from little cauſes.

As Charlemagne was equally a friend to religion and letters, and as any learning which yet remained among mankind, in our quarter of the globe, was monopoliſed by the clergy, it is not ſurpriſing that they obtained many ſingular marks of his favour. Even the payment of tithes, though then conſidered as a grievous oppreſſion, which he ordered as a compenſation for the lands with-held from the church, and the conſequence which he gave to churchmen by admitting them into the national aſſemblies, and aſſociating them along with the counts in the adminiſtration of juſtice, appear leſs extravagant, than his ſitting himſelf in councils merely eccleſiaſtical, aſſembled about the moſt frivolous points of a vain theology. But, like ſome princes of later times, Charles ſeems to have been ambitious to be conſidered not only as the protector, but the head of the church; and his power and munificence made this uſurpation be overlooked, notwithſtanding the height at which the papal dignity was then arrived. Accordingly we find him ſeated on
A. D. 794. a throne in the council of Franckfort, with one of the popes's legates on each hand, and three hundred biſhops waiting his nod.

THE purpoſe of that council was to examine the doctrine of two Spaniſh biſhops, who, in order to refute the accuſation of polytheiſm, brought againſt the Chriſtians by the Jews and Mahometans, maintained that Jeſus Chriſt is the ſon of God only by adoption.

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The king opened the aſſembly himſelf, and propoſed the condemnation of this hereſy. The council decided accordingly, and in a letter to the churches of Spain, in conſequence of this deciſion, Charles expreſſes himſelf in theſe remarkable words: "You entreat me to judge of myſelf; I have done ſo: I have aſſiſted as an auditor, and an arbiter, in an aſſembly of biſhops: we have examined, and, by the grace of God, we have ſettled, what muſt be believed!" Neither Conſtantine, nor any other of the Greek emperors, ſo jealous of their theological prerogative, ever uſed a more poſitive language.

CHARLEMAGNE went ſtill further in the queſtion of images. Leo IV. the ſon of Conſtantine Copronymus, as zealous an image-breaker as his father, had baniſhed his wife Irene, becauſe ſhe hid images beneath her pillow. This devout and ambitious princeſs coming afterwards to the government, under her infant ſon, Conſtantine Porphyrogenetus, with whom ſhe was aſſociated in the empire, re-eſtabliſhed that worſhip which ſhe loved, not leſs from policy than piety. The ſecond council of Nice accordingly decided, that we ought to render to images an *honorary* worſhip, but not a real *adoration*, which is due to God alone. Unfortunately, however, the tranſlation of the acts of this council, which pope Adrian ſent into France, was ſo defective, that the ſenſe of the article relating to images was entirely perverted, running thus: "I receive and honour images according to that adoration which I pay to the Trinity." Charles was ſo much incenſed at this impiety, that he compoſed, by the aſſiſtance of the clergy, and publiſhed in his own name, what are called the Carolin Books, in which the council of Nice is treated with the utmoſt contempt and abuſe. He ſent theſe books to Adrian I. deſiring him to excommunicate the empreſs

LET. IV.

preſs and her ſon. The pope prudently excuſed himſelf on the ſcore of images, making Charles ſenſible of the miſtake upon which he had proceeded; but he inſinuated, at the ſame time, that he would declare Irene and Conſtantine heretics, unleſs they reſtored certain lands, which had belonged to the church; artfully hinting at certain projects, which he had formed for the *exaltation* of the Roman church and the French monarchy [14]. The exaltation of the monarchy was at hand, though Adrian did not live to be the inſtrument of it.

A. D. 796. LEO III. who ſucceeded Adrian in the papacy, ſent immediately to Charlemagne the ſtandard of Rome, begging him to ſend ſome perſon to receive the oath of fidelity from the Romans [15]; a moſt flattering inſtance of ſubmiſſion, as well as a proof that the ſovereignty of Rome, at that time, belonged to the kings of France. Three years after, Paſcal and Campule, two nephews of the late pope, not only offered themſelves as accuſers of Leo, but attacked him in the public ſtreet, wounded him in ſeveral places, and dragged him half-dead into the church of St. Mark. He made his eſcape by the aſſiſtance of ſome friends; and the duke of Spoleto, general of the French forces, ſent him under an eſcort to Charlemagne. Charles received him with all poſſible marks of reſpect, ſent him back with a numerous retinue of guards and attendants, and went ſoon after to Italy in perſon to do him juſtice [16].

ON Charles's arrival at Rome, he ſpent ſix days in private conferences with the pope; after which he convoked the biſhops and nobles, to examine the accuſation brought againſt the pontiff. "The apoſtolic "ſee," exclaimed, the biſhops, "cannot be judged by "man." Leo, however, ſpoke to the accuſation: he ſaid the king came to *know the cauſe*; and, no proof appearing againſt him, he purged himſelf by oath.

THE

THE trial of a pope was doubtleſs an uncommon ſcene, but one ſoon followed yet more extraordinary. On Chriſtmas day, as the king aſſiſted at maſs in St. Peter's church, in the midſt of the eccleſiaſtical ceremonies, and while he was on his knees before the altar, the pope advanced, and put an imperial crown upon his head. As ſoon as the people perceived it, they cried, "Long life and victory to Charles Auguſtus, "crowned by the hand of God! Long live the great "and pious emperor of the Romans!" During theſe acclamations, the pope conducted him to a magnificent throne, which had been prepared for the purpoſe; and, as ſoon as he was ſeated, paid him thoſe honours which his predeceſſors had been accuſtomed to pay to the Roman emperors, declaring that inſtead of the title of patrician, he ſhould henceforth ſtile him emperor and Auguſtus. Leo now preſented him with the imperial mantle; with which being inveſted, Charles returned amidſt the acclamations of the populace, to his palace[17].

THE pope had ſurely no right to proclaim an emperor; but Charles was worthy of the imperial enſigns: and though he cannot properly be ranked among the ſucceſſors of Auguſtus, he is juſtly conſidered as the founder of the New Empire of the Weſt.

CHARLEMAGNE was no ſooner proclaimed emperor, than his title was univerſally acknowledged; and he received ſeveral embaſſies, which muſt have given him much ſatisfaction, as they did honour both to the prince and to the man. Irene, empreſs of the Eaſt, the moſt artful and ambitious woman of her time, and who had depoſed her ſon Conſtantine, that ſhe might reign alone, made the new emperor a propoſal of marriage. This propoſal was made with a view to ſecure her Italian dominions, which ſhe was informed

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informed Charles intended to ſeize; and the marriage was actually concluded, when Nicephorus the patrician conſpired againſt Irene, baniſhed her to the iſland of Mitylene, and aſcended the imperial throne. Nicephorus alſo fearing the power of Charles, ſent ambaſſadors to him under the title of Auguſtus. They ſettled the limits of the two empires, by a new treaty [18]; according to which Calabria, Sicily, the ſea-coaſt of Naples, Dalmatia, and Venice, were to continue under the dominion of the emperors of Conſtantinople. This treaty proves, that the Venetians were not yet altogether independent; but they aſpired at independency, and ſoon deſervedly obtained it.

A. D. 802.

THE renown of Charles extended even into Aſia. He kept a correſpondence with the famous Harun-al-Raſchid, the twenty-fifth calif, and one of thoſe who contributed moſt to enlighten and poliſh the Arabs. This prince valued the friendſhip of Charlemagne above that of all other potentates; as a proof of which he complimented him with an ambaſſy ſoon after he was proclaimed emperor, and ceded to him the lordſhip of Jeruſalem [19]; or, as others ſay, the holy places of that city, whither devotion already led a great number of Chriſtians. Among the preſents which the ambaſſadors of Al-Raſchid brought into France was a ſtriking clock, the firſt ever ſeen in that kingdom; for notwithſtanding the efforts of Charlemagne to enlighten his nation, the ſcholars of his court were by no means equal to thoſe of the calif's in knowledge, nor his people in the arts, either liberal or mechanical. The Arabs might then have been preceptors to all Europe.

A. D. 807.

I MUST here ſay a few words of this ſurpriſing phenomenon.

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THE Abaſſides having aſcended the throne of Mahomet, transferred the ſeat of the califat from Damaſcus to Caſſa, and afterwards to Bagdad, on the banks of the Tygris. Thither the calif Al-Manſur attracted the arts and ſciences. The Greeks had furniſhed ideas, and communicated taſte to their barbarous conquerors: a ſpecies of triumph reſerved for civilized nations, even in a ſtate of debaſement; and a conſolation in ſervitude, if any thing can conſole a people for the loſs of liberty. Al-Mohdi, ſucceſſor of Al-Manſur, cultivated theſe precious ſeeds; and Al-Raſchid, ſucceſſor of Al-Mahdi, augmented their fecundity by his knowledge and attention, being equally liberal and enlightened. Under Al-Mamun, Al-Motaſem, Al-Wathek, and their immediate ſucceſſors, the ſciences flouriſhed ſtill more; but, at length, diſſentions and civil wars robbed the Arabs, in their turn, of the fruits of genius, and the lights of learning, which are almoſt inſeparable from public tranquility.

IN all nations the ſame revolutions are produced by the ſame cauſes. Nothing merits your attention more in the ſtudy of hiſtory.

ONE of the principal cauſes of the fall of empires has ever been, but more particularly in modern times, the error of dividing them among different princes. The cuſtom was eſtabliſhed before Charlemagne; he followed it, by a teſtamentary diviſion of his dominions among his three ſons, Charles, Pepin, and Lewis. The particulars of this diviſion are of little conſequence, as Lewis only ſurvived his father. It is neceſſary, however, to obſerve, that the Italian provinces were aſſigned to Pepin, which donation was confirmed to his ſon Bernard, with the title of king of Italy,

A. D. 806.

A. D. 810.

LET. VI. Italy, and proved the ruin of that prince, as well as the cauſe of much diſturbance to the empire.

IN the mean time, the emperor was threatened by a new enemy, and the moſt formidable he had ever encountered. The Normans, as the French call them, or the inhabitants of the north of Europe, whom I ſhall afterwards have occaſion more particularly to mention, had long harraſſed the coaſts of his extenſive dominions by their robberies and piracies; and notwithſtanding the wiſe meaſures of Charles, who created a powerful marine, and took every other precaution againſt their ravages, they not only continued their depredations, but made a formal deſcent in Friezland, under their king Godfrey, laying every thing waſte before them. Charles aſſembled all his forces in the neighbourhood of the Rhine, and was preparing for a deciſive battle, which might, perhaps, have terminated the empire of the Franks, as Godfrey was not inferior to the emperor either in valour or military ſkill, and had a numerous army of fearleſs adventurers under his command; but the iſſue of this
A. D. 810. battle was prevented by the death of Godfrey, who was aſſaſſinated by one of his own guards. His troops immediately re-embarked, and a peace was afterwards concluded with his ſon [20].

THE ſatisfaction which Charles muſt have received from this deliverance, and the general tranquility which he now enjoyed, was more than balanced by his domeſtic misfortunes. He loſt his favourite daughter Rotrude, (for whom he is ſuppoſed to have felt more than a fatherly affection) his ſon Pepin, and his ſon Charles. Soon after the death of Charles,
A. D. 813. he aſſociated his ſon Lewis with him in the empire. The ceremony was very ſolemn. As if this great man had foreſeen the uſurpations of the church, he placed

the

the imperial crown upon the altar, and ordered the prince to lift it, and ſet it on his own head [21]; intimating thereby, that he held it only of God. LET. VI.

THE emperor died at Aix-la-Chapelle, his uſual reſidence, in the ſeventy-firſt year of his age, and the forty-ſeventh of his reign. The glory of the French empire ſeemed to die with him. He poſſeſſed all France, all Germany, part of Hungary, part of Spain, the Low-Countries, and the continent of Italy, as far as Bonevento [22]. But to govern ſuch an extent of territory, one muſt have the genius of a Charlemagne. A. D. 814.

LETTER

LETTER VII.

The Empire of CHARLEMAGNE, *and the* CHURCH, *from the Acceſſion of* LEWIS *the* DEBONAIR, *to the Death of* CHARLES *the* BALD.

LET. VII.

THE hiſtory of Europe, during ſeveral ages after the death of Charlemagne, is little more than a catalogue of crimes, and a regiſter of the debaſing effects of ignorance and ſuperſtition. His empire ſoon experienced the fate of Alexander's. It had quickly attained its height; and yet, while animated by the ſuperior genius of Charles, it poſſeſſed a ſupriſing degree of ſtrength and harmony: but theſe not being natural to the feudal ſyſtem, the diſcordant elements began to ſeparate under his ſon, Lewis the Debonair, (ſo called on account of the gentleneſs of his manners) and that vaſt body being no longer informed by the ſame ſpirit, was in a ſhort time entirely diſmembered.

LEWIS, though a prince of middling capacity, was unable to ſupport ſo great a weight of empire: and his piety and parental fondneſs, however amiable in in themſelves, enfeebled a character alre.dy too weak, and an authority never reſpected. He rendered himſelf odious to the clergy by attempting to reform certain abuſes, without foreſeeing that this powerful body would not pay him the ſame ſubmiſſion they had done his father. More religious than political, he ſpent leſs time in ſettling the affairs of his empire than thoſe of his ſoul: ignorant that true religion conſiſts in fulfilling the duties of our ſtation, and that the practices of the cloiſter are improperly aſſociated with the

the functions of the throne. But his greateſt error was occaſioned by his paternal affection, and a blind imitation of his father's example, in dividing his dominions among his children. Soon after his acceſſion to the throne, he aſſociated his eldeſt ſon Lothario with him in the empire; he created Pepin king of Aquitaine, Lewis king of Bavaria; and, after the ceremony of coronation was over, ſent them to the government of their reſpective kingdoms [1]. A. D. 817.

Bernard, king of Italy, the grandſon of Charlemagne, was offended at this diviſion. He thought his right to the empire ſuperior to Lothario's, as his father Pepin was the elder brother of Lewis. The archbiſhops of Milan and Cremona flattered him in his pretenſions: he revolted, and levied war againſt his uncle, in contempt of the imperial dignity, to which his crown was ſubject. Lewis acted on this occaſion with more vigour than either his friends or his enemies expected; he immediately raiſed a powerful army, and was preparing to croſs the Alps, when Bernard was abandoned by his troops. This unfortunate prince was made priſoner, and condemned to loſe his head; but his uncle, by a ſingular kind of lenity, mitigated the puniſhment to the loſs of his eyes. He died three days after; and Lewis, in order to prevent future troubles, ordered three natural ſons of Charlemagne to be ſhaved, and ſhut up in a convent [2].

After theſe rigours, the emperor was violently ſeized with remorſe, accuſing himſelf of the murder of his nephew, and of tyrannic cruelty to his brothers, inhumanly ſecluded from the world. He was encouraged by the monks in this melancholy humour; which, at laſt, came to ſuch a height, that he impeached himſelf in an aſſembly of the ſtates, and begged the biſhops to enjoin him public penance [3]. The clergy

LET. VII. now ſenſible of Lewis's weakneſs, ſet no bounds to their uſurpations. The popes thought they might do any thing under ſo pious a prince: they did not wait for the emperor's confirmation, and were guilty of every other irregularity. The biſhops exalted themſelves above the throne, and the whole fraternity of the church claimed an exemption from all civil juriſdiction. Even that ſet of men who pretend to renounce the world, the monks, ſeemed to aſpire at the government of it.

LEWIS, by the advice of his miniſters, who were deſirous to divert him from his monaſtic habits, had
A. D. 818. married a ſecond wife, whoſe name was Judith, deſcended from one of the nobleſt families in Bavaria, and diſtinguiſhed both by her mental and perſonal ac-
A. D. 824. compliſhments. This princeſs brought him a ſon, afterwards known by the name of Charles the Bald, whoſe birth was the occaſion of much joy, but proved in a ſhort time the cauſe of many ſorrows. For this ſon there was no inheritance, the imperial dominions being already divided among the children of the firſt marriage. The empreſs, therefore, who had gained a great aſcendency over her huſband, preſſed Lewis to place her ſon Charles on a footing with his other children, by a new diviſion of the empire [4]. Aquitaine and Bavaria were ſmall kingdoms; from them nothing could be expected: but Lothario's ſhare was large, and might ſpare a little. Senſible of the wiſhes of his father, and prevailed on by the entreaties of this fond mother, Lothario conſented, that ſome proviſion ſhould accordingly be made for his brother Charles: but he ſoon repented, and the three brothers joined in a
A. D. 816. rebellion againſt their father [5]; the moſt ſingular circumſtance, perhaps, to be met with in hiſtory.

THESE diſorders were foſtered by Walla, abbot of Corbie, a monk of high birth, who had formerly been

in the confidence of Lewis, but was now in disgrace. He declaimed against the court, and against the empress in particular, accusing her of an adulterous commerce with count Bernard, the prime minister. His schemes succeeded. The emperor was abandoned by his army, and made prisoner, along with his wife Judith, and her son Charles. The empress was shut up in a cloister, and Lewis himself would have been obliged to take the monastic habit, had it not been supposed that he would make a voluntary resignation of his crown. He had the courage, however, to insist on the rectitude of his intentions while he acknowledged his errors, and promised to act with more circumspection for the future. The nobility pitied their humbled sovereign; and by the intrigues of the monk Gombaud, who sowed dissentions among the brothers, he was restored to his dignity, and seemingly reconciled with his family [6].

THE first use that the emperor made of his liberty, was to recall his consort to court; though not without the permission of the pope, as she had formally taken the veil. Bernard was also recalled, and Walla banished; yet Lewis did not long enjoy either peace or tranquility. The monk Gombaud thought he had a right to be prime minister, as the reward of his services; and as women generally repay flattery with favour, they as generally reserve vengeance for insult: the empress brought her animosities along with her. Walla's friends were persecuted, and Lothario was deprived of the title of emperor, that the succession might be reserved for young Charles. The three brothers again associated in a league against their father [7]. Count Bernard, dissatisfied with his master's conduct, joined the rebels; and Gregory IV. then pope, went to France in the army of Lothario, under pretence of accommodating matters, but really with

LET. VII. an intention to employ againſt the emperor that power which he derived from him, glad of an opportunity to aſſert the ſupremacy and independency of the Holy See.

THE preſence of the pope, in thoſe days of ſuperſtition, was of itſelf ſufficient to determine the fate of Lewis. After a deceitful negociation, and an interview with Gregory on the part of Lothario, the unfortunate emperor found himſelf abandoned by his army, and at the mercy of his rebellious ſons. He was
A. D. 833. depoſed in a tumultuous aſſembly held on the ſpot, and Lothario proclaimed in his ſtead[8]; after which infamous tranſaction the pope returned to Rome.

IN order to give permanency to this revolution, as well as to apologize for their own conduct, the biſhops of Lothario's faction bethought themſelves of an artifice, like that which had been made uſe of to degrade king Wamba in Spain. "A penitent," ſaid they, "is in-"capable of all civil offices: a royal penitent muſt "then be incapable of reigning; let us ſubject Lewis "to a perpetual penance, and he can never aſcend the "throne." He was accordingly arraigned in an aſſembly of the ſtates, by Ebbo, archbiſhop of Reims, (who had been raiſed by his bounty from the condition of a ſlave) and condemned to do penance for life[9].

LEWIS was then a priſoner in the monaſtery of St. Medard, at Soiſſons; and being much intimidated, he patiently ſubmitted to a ceremony no leſs ſolemn than debaſing. He proſtrated himſelf on an hair-cloth, which was ſpread before the altar, and owned himſelf guilty of the charge, in the preſence of a great many biſhops, canons, and monks, Lothario alſo being preſent to enjoy the ſight of his father's humiliation. But this acknowledgment was not enough: they gave him a written

written confeſſion to read aloud, in which he is made to accuſe himſelf of ſacrilege and murder, and to number among his crimes the marching of troops in Lent, calling an aſſembly on Holy Thurſday, and taking arms to defend himſelf againſt his rebellious children; for ſuperſtition can transform into crimes the moſt innocent, and even the moſt neceſſary actions. After having completed his confeſſion, this unhappy prince, by order of the ungrateful archbiſhop, laid aſide his ſword and belt, diveſted himſelf of the royal robes, put on the penitential ſackcloth, and had a cell aſſigned him [10]. LET. VII.

BUT the feelings of nature, and the voice of humanity, prevailed over the prejudices of the age, and the policy of the clergy. Lothario was univerſally abhorred, and his father no leſs generally pitied: his two brothers united againſt him, in behalf of that father whom they had contributed to humble. The nobility returned to their obdience: they paid homage to Lewis, as their lawful ſovereign; and the ambitious Lothario was obliged to crave mercy, in ſight of the whole army, at the feet of a father, and an emperor, whom he had lately inſulted in the habit of a penitent [11]. He received it, and was permitted to retain the kingdom of Italy, A. D. 834.

LEWIS immediately demanded abſolution, (ſuch was his weakneſs) and an aſſembly held at Thionville formally reſtored him to his dignity, declaring void every thing that had been done at Soiſſons. He might now have ended his days in peace, but for the intrigues of the empreſs Judith; who, ſtill ambitious of the aggrandizement of her ſon Charles, again entered into a negociation with Lothario, in conſequence of the death of his brother Pepin. An aſſembly was held at Worms, to which he was invited. His father received him kindly; but the empreſs loaded him A. D. 836.

LET. VI. with careſſes. The kingdom of Neuſtria had lately been added to the dominions originally aſſigned her ſon; and the object of all theſe intrigues was, to engage Lothario in a ſcheme by which Charles ſhould alſo become poſſeſſed of the kingdom of Aquitaine, at the expence of Pepin's children. Lothario aſſented to what he was not in a condition to diſpute; but Lewis, king of Bavaria, though not injured by this new diviſion of the empire, was ſo much incenſed at its injuſtice, as he pretended, that he aſſembled the whole force of his dominions. His father marched againſt him, but was ſuddenly taken ill; and an eclipſe of the ſun happening at the ſame time, the ſuperſtitious old man had the vanity to think, that Heaven had taken the trouble to foretel to mankind the death of a prince whoſe very virtues diſhonoured the throne, and who ſhould never have ſtirred beyond the walls of a cloiſter. He therefore repeatedly received the communion, and ſcarce any other nouriſhment, till his
A. D. 840. piety fulfilled the prediction which his folly had ſuggeſted [12].

LEWIS died near Mentz, in the ſeventy-ſecond year of his age, and the twenty-eighth of his reign. He left a crown, a ſceptre, and a very rich ſword, to Lothario, by which it was ſuppoſed he alſo left him the empire, on condition that he ſhould fulfill his engagements to the empreſs and her ſon Charles. His brother, the biſhop of Mentz, obſerving that he had left nothing to his ſon Lewis, then in arms againſt him, reminded him that forgiveneſs, at leaſt, was his duty. "Yes, I forgive him!" cried the dying monarch with much emotion; "but tell him from me, "to ſeek forgiveneſs alſo of God, for bringing my "grey hairs in ſorrow to the grave [13]."

A BAD

LET. VII.

A BAD ſon, my dear Boy, is not likely to make a good brother; for the natural feelings in the ſecond relation are neceſſarily weaker than in the firſt: you muſt therefore expect to ſee the ſons of Lewis the Debonair armed againſt each other. As ſoon as Lothario was informed of his father's death, he conſidered himſelf as emperor in the moſt extenſive ſenſe of the word, and reſolved to make himſelf maſter of the whole imperial dominions, regardleſs of his engagements with Judith and her ſon Charles the Bald, or the right of his brother Lewis to the kingdom of Bavaria. He was a prince of great ſubtlety and addreſs; could wear the complexion of the times; and was poſſeſſed of an extenſive territory, beſides the title of emperor, which was ſtill much reſpected: he therefore inſured himſelf of ſucceſs againſt his brothers; Charles being only a youth of ſeventeen, under the tuition of his mother, and Lewis a prince of no high reputation. He was deceived, however, in his conjectures. Theſe two princes, united by a ſenſe of common intereſt, gave him battle at Fontenai, in Burgundy, where fraternal hatred appeared in all its horrors. Few engagements have been ſo bloody. An hundred thouſand men are ſaid to have fallen on the ſpot. Lothario and his nephew Pepin (who had joined him to aſſert his right to the crown of Aquitaine) were totally defeated [14]. Pepin fled to Aquitaine, and Lothario towards Italy, abandoning France to the victorious army.

D. D. 841.

NOTHING now remained for Lewis and Charles but to ſecure their conqueſt. For this purpoſe they applied to the clergy; and with hopes ſo much the better founded, that Lothario, in order to raiſe troops with more expedition, had promiſed the Saxons the liberty of renouncing Chriſtianity; or, in other words, liberty of conſcience, a thing held in abhorrence by the church of Rome. Several biſhops aſſembled at

LET. VII. Aix-la-Chapelle; and, after examining the miſconduct of the emperior, aſked the two princes, whether they choſe to follow his example, or govern according to the laws of God. Their anſwer may eaſily be imagined. "Receive then the kingdom by the divine "authority," added the prelates: "we exhort you, "we command you to receive it [15]!"

THIS command would have taken effect in its moſt extenſive meaning, if Lothario had reſpected it as much as his brothers; but that artful prince, by means of his indulgence to the Saxons, and other political expedients, ſet on foot a new army, and became again formidable. The two victorious princes therefore thought it adviſable to negociate with him. By a new
A. D. 845. treaty of diviſion, he was left in poſſeſſion of the kingdom of Italy, with the imperial dignity, and the countries ſituated between the Rhone and the Alps, the Meuſe and the Rhine. Charles retained Neuſtria and Aquitaine; and Lewis, afterwards ſtiled the German, had all the provinces on the other ſide of the Rhine, and ſome cities on this ſide of it [16].

THE extinction of the civil war, made but one evil leſs in the empire of Charlemagne, ravaged in different parts by the Normans, and by the Saracens, who pillaged Italy. The independency of the nobles, accuſtomed during the laſt reign to deſpiſe the prince and the laws, the diſcontents of the clergy, and the ambitious projects of both, were the ſource of new troubles. Every thing threatened the moſt fatal revolutions, every thing tended to anarchy.

IN order to leſſen theſe evils, the three brothers entered into an aſſociation, the effect of weakneſs more than affection, by which the enemies of one were to be conſidered as the enemies of all, (ſo low

was

was the empire of the great Charles !) and in an assembly held at Merſen on the Meuſe, they ſettled certain conſtitutions relative to the ſucceſſion, and other public matters. By theſe it was eſtabliſhed, that the children of the reigning prince, whether of age, or under age, ſhould ſucceed to his dominions, and owe nothing to the other princes of the monarchy but the reſpect due to the ties of blood [17]; a regulation well calculated to prevent civil wars, though it proved ineffectual in thoſe diſorderly times: but other conſtitutions of the aſſembly at Merſen tended to enfeeble the royal authority, which had already but too much need of ſupport. They provide, that the crown-vaſſals ſhall no more be obliged to follow the king, unleſs in general wars, occaſioned by foreign invaſions; and that every free man ſhall be at liberty to chuſe, whether he will be the vaſſal of the king or of a ſubject [18]. The firſt of theſe regulations increaſed the independency of the crown-vaſſals, and the ſecond their power, by augmenting the number of their retainers; for many choſe rather to depend upon ſome neighbouring nobleman, whoſe immediate protection they might claim, at a time when protection was neceſſary independent of the laws, than on the ſovereign, whoſe attention they had leſs reaſon to expect, and whoſe aid was more diſtant or doubtful.

LIB. VII. A. D. 847.

LOTHARIO, ſome years after, took the habit of a monk, that, according to the language of thoſe times, he might atone for his crimes; and, tho' he had lived a tyrant, die a ſaint [19]. In this pious diſguiſe he expired before he had worn it quite a week. He had divided his dominions among his children; and, by virtue of the treaty of Merſen, they quietly ſucceeded to their allotments. Lewis had Italy, with the title of emperor; Lothario the provinces between the Rhone, the Soan, the Meuſe, the Eſcaut, and the Rhine, called from

A. D. 855.

LET. VII. from his own name the kingdom of Lotharingia, and by corruption Lorrain. Charles had Provence, Dauphiné, and part of Burgundy. He took the title of king of Provence. One would have imagined there now were kings enough in this monarchy; yet Charles the Bald declared his infant ſon king of Aquitaine [20].

THUS was the empire of Charlemagne ſplit by continual diviſions, the ſource of continual wars, till it became, to uſe the language of Shakeſpeare, only "a ſtage to feed contention on." Foreign invaſions conſpired with civil diſſentions to ſpread terror and diſorder in every quarter; but more particularly through the dominions of Charles the Bald, a prince as weak as his father, and reſtleſs as his mother. The Normans carried fire and ſword into the heart of his kingdom, to Rouen, and even to the gates of Paris. The young Pepin, ſon to the laſt king of Aquitaine, joined the invaders, and ravaged that country over which he had been born to reign. Nomenoë, duke of Bretagne, uſurped the title of king, which Charles was obliged to confirm to his ſon Heriſpee, by whom he had been totally defeated. The ſpirit of revolt became every day more general. Some factious nobles invited Lewis the German to uſurp his brother's kingdom. He came at the head of a powerful army, and received the homage of the principal nobility. Veniſon, archbiſhop of Sens, and other prelates of Lewis's party, at the ſame time declared, that Charles had for-
A. D. 858. feited his dignity by mal-adminiſtration, and crowned his brother the German [21].

CHARLES, however, recovered his kingdom as eaſily as he had loſt it. The prelates of his party excommunicated thoſe who had dethroned him, which brought the rebels into contempt, and even abhorrence. Lewis ſent back his army into Germany, that he might not

not give umbrage to the French, and he was ſoon after obliged to take the ſame route himſelf [22]. Charles no ſooner appeared than he was univerſally acknowledged: his reſtoration did not coſt a ſingle blow. The moſt terrible anathemas were now denounced againſt Lewis the German by the French clergy, unleſs he ſubmitted to the rigours of the church, among which were included penance; and he was weak enough to reply, that he muſt firſt conſult the biſhops of his own kingdom [23].

THE weakneſs of Charles the Bald was ſtill more extraordinary. Having aſſembled a council to judge the traitor Venilon, he preſented a memorial againſt him, in which is the following ſingular paſſage: "I "ought not to have been depoſed; or, at leaſt, not "before I had been judged by the biſhops, who gave "me the royal authority! I have always ſubmitted to "their correction, and am ready now to ſubmit to it!" Venilon eſcaped puniſhment, by making his peace with the prince; and the biſhops of the council bound themſelves by a canon to remain united, "for the "correction of kings, the nobility, and the people!" [24]

A VARIETY of circumſtances ſhew, that the clergy now aſpired at the right of diſpoſing of crowns, which they founded on the cuſtom of anointing kings. They employed fictions and ſophiſms to render themſelves independent: they refuſed the oath of fidelity, "be-"cauſed ſacred hands could not, without abomination, "ſubmit to hands impure [25]!" One uſurpation led to another; abuſe conſtituted right; a quibble appeared a divine law. Ignorance ſanctified every thing: and we may ſafely conclude from the abject language of Charles, in publickly acknowledging the right of the biſhops to deſpoſe him, and other examples of a like nature, that the uſurpations of the clergy were, in a great

LET. VII. great meaſure, occaſioned by the ſlaviſh ſuperſtition of the laity, equally blind, wicked, and devout.

THE zeal of the biſhops to eſtabliſh their independency was favourable to the projects of the court of Rome. Sergius II. the ſucceſſor of Gre-
A. D. 844. gory IV. had taken poſſeſſion of the Apoſtolic See, without the approbation of Lothario, then emperor. Lothario incenſed, ſent his ſon Lewis with troops and prelates. The pope having conducted the prince to St. Peter's gate, ſaid to him, "I permit you to enter, "if your intentions are good; if not, I will not ſuffer "you to enter!" and the French being guilty of ſome irregularities, he actually ordered the gates to be ſhut. They complained: Sergius was cited to a council; he appeared, and juſtified himſelf[26]. Leo IV. celebrated for the courage with which he defended Rome againſt the Saracens, and Benedict III. elected in ſpite of the emperor, both lived in peace with royalty; but Nicholas I. more bold than any of his predeceſſors, made himſelf the judge of kings and of biſhops, and realized the chimera of lying decretals.

A GRAND occaſion offered in France for Nicholas to exerciſe that authority which he attributed to him-
A. D. 862. ſelf. Lothario, king of Lorrain, divorced his wife Teutberge, falſely accuſed of inceſt. She was cleared by the trial of boiling water, but afterwards convicted by her own confeſſion; if an involuntary acknowledgment, the effect of violence and fear, can be called conviction. A council held at Aix-la-Chapelle authorized Lothario to eſpouſe Waldrade his concubine. They were equally deſirous of this marriage; a criminal amour had drawn them to the brink of diſhonour. The ſcandal was horrible! Nicholas laid hold of the affair, and attempted to force the king to take back his firſt wife. For this purpoſe he ordered the biſhops to hold

hold a council at Metz, along with his legates, and there to cite and judge Lothario. They confirmed the divorce, contrary to the expectations of the pontiff; which ſo much enraged him, that he depoſed the biſhops of Treves and Cologne, who had been appointed to preſent to him the acts of the council. Theſe biſhops complained to the emperor Lewis: he went immediately to Rome; diſplayed his authority, and ſeemed determined to repreſs the papal power. But he fell ill: a ſuperſtitious fear ſeized him; and he retired, after having approved the conduct of Nicholas, who became ſtill more imperious. Lothario humbled himſelf in vain; though he went ſo far as even to offer to come and juſtify himſelf in perſon. The pope inſiſted, that Waldrade ſhould be firſt diſmiſſed; and a legate threatened the king with immediate excommunication, if he continued in diſobedience. Lothario, intimidated, now ſubmitted: he recalled Teutberge, and even conſented that the legate ſhould lead Waldrade in triumph to Rome. She ſet out on that mortifying journey, but eſcaped by the way; and, in a ſhort time, reſumed her place both as miſtreſs and queen. The unfortunate Teutberge, ſinking beneath the weight of perſecution and neglect, at laſt deſired to be ſeparated from Lothario, proteſting that her marriage was void, and that Waldrade's was legitimate; but nothing could move the inflexible Nicholas. LET. VII.

WE may conſider this pope as the forerunner of Gregory VII. and, in the ſame circumſtances, he would likely have carried his ambition to the ſame height. The biſhops of Treves and Cologne accuſed him in an invective of making himſelf *emperor* of the whole world; and that expreſſion, though ſomewhat ſtrained, was not altogether without foundation. He aſſerted his dominion over the French clergy, by reeſtabliſhing Rothade of Soiſſons, depoſed by a provincial council. He received appeals from all eccleſiaſtics diſſatisfied

Let. VII. diſſatisfied with their biſhops; by which means he accuſtomed the people to acknowledge a ſupreme tribunal, at a diſtance from their own country, and conſequently a foreign ſway. He gave orders for the ſucceſſion to the kingdom of Provence, which Charles the Bald diſputed with the emperor Lewis, brother to the deceaſed king. "Let nobody hinder the emperor," ſays he, in a letter on that ſubject, "to govern the "kingdoms which he holds in virtue of a ſucceſſion "confirmed by the Holy See, and by the crown which "the ſovereign pontiff has ſet upon his head [27]!"

Nicholas died in 867; but his principles had taken ſuch deep root, that Adrian II. his ſucceſſor, though more moderate, and deſirous of peace, thought his condeſcenſion great in permitting Lothario to come to Rome, in order to juſtify himſelf, or do penance. Charles the Bald, and Lewis the German, waited with impatience for the excommunication of their nephew, perſuaded that they ſhould then have a right to ſeize his dominions. Thus the blind ambition of princes favoured the exerciſe of a power, which they ought to have ſeen might be turned againſt themſelves; which afterwards became the ſcourge of royalty, and made every crowned head tremble.

Lothario, while at Rome, employed all poſſible means to ſoften the pope: he received the communion from his hand, after having ſworn he never had any criminal commerce with Waldrade, ſince the prohibition of Nicholas, nor ever would have any in future [28].

A. D. 869. He died at Plaiſance, in his way home. This accident was conſidered as a juſt vengeance; as a mark of the divine diſpleaſure againſt perjury, and rendered the proof by the euchariſt ſtill more important.

The

THE emperor Lewis II. brother of Lothario, ought legally to have ſucceeded him; but being at that time employed in expelling the Saracens, who had plundered Italy, and conſequently not in a condition to aſſert his right by arms, Charles the Bald laid hold of the ſucceſſion, and retained it notwithſtanding the remonſtrances of the pope. "The *arms* which God has put "into our hand," writ Adrian, "are prepared for his "defence [29]!" Charles was more afraid of the arms of his brother the German, with whom he found it neceſſary to ſhare the kingdom, though the nobility and clergy of Lorrain had voluntarily ſubmitted to him.

THE pope ſtill continued his remonſtrances in favour of the emperor, hoping at leaſt to obtain ſomething for him; but they were diſregarded by Charles, who had now thrown off much of his piety, and anſwered in a ſpirited manner by the famous Hincmar, archbiſhop of Rheims. This bold and independent prelate deſired the pope to call to mind, that reſpect and ſubmiſſion which the ancient pontiffs had always paid to princes: he bid him know, that his dignity gave him no right over the government of kingdoms; that he could not be at the ſame time pope and king; that the choice of ſovereigns belongs to the people; that anathemas ill applied have no effect upon the ſoul; and that *free* men are not to be enſlaved by a biſhop of Rome [30].

ADRIAN affected to deſpiſe theſe arguments, and continued for ſome time his menaces both againſt Hincmar and the king; but, finding them ineffectual, he changed his tone, and wrote ſeveral flattering letters to Charles, promiſing him the empire on the death of his nephew, then in a languiſhing condition. This project in favour of the French monarch was executed under John VIII. Adrian's ſucceſſor. The

emperor

LET. VII. emperor Lewis II. died without male heirs. Lewis the German claimed the ſucceſſion, and the imperial dignity, as the elder brother of Charles: but the pope preferred the claim of Charles for political reaſons; which, with the court of Rome, never fail to take place of equity. Lewis ſeemed faſt approaching to his end, and had three ſons, among whom his dominions muſt be divided. Charles was a younger man, and had only one ſon; he therefore appeared the moſt
A. D. 875. proper perſon to chuſe as a protector. He croſſed the Alps at the head of his army, and accordingly received the imperial crown as a *preſent* from the pope; but much in the ſame manner that many preſents of the like kind are obtained in our days, by paying roundly for it. In an aſſembly at Pavia, the biſhops, abbots, and Italian nobles, recognized him in the following words: "Since the divine favour, through the "merits of the holy apoſtles, and of their vicar pope "John, has raiſed you to the empire, according to "the judgment of the Holy Ghoſt, we elect you una-"nimouſly for our protector and lord [31]."

ON the death of Lewis the German, a prince of conſiderable merit both as a warrior and politician, Charles the Bald, always ambitious and imprudent, attempted to ſeize that part of Lorrain which he had granted to his brother, and was deſervedly defeated [32]. His three nephews, Carloman, Lewis, and Charles, preſerved their poſſeſſions by maintaining a ſtrict union among themſelves. The firſt had Bavaria, the ſecond Saxony, and the third Suabia.

A. D. 877. ABOUT this time the Saracens renewed their ravages in Italy. They took and plundered Comachio. Pope John had recourſe to the emperor; and deſired him "to remember the hand that had given him the "empire; leſt," added he, "if driven to deſpair,

"we

"we ſhould change our opinion!" That menace, ſufficiently intelligible, had its effect. Though France was then over-run by the Normans, whom Charles was unable to reſiſt, he undertook to expel the Saracens; and he was ſcarce arrived in Italy, when he received intelligence of a new enemy. Carloman, his nephew, advanced againſt him, with an intention to ſeize the imperial crown and the kingdom of Italy, in virtue of his father's will, and the right of primogeniture. Charles, betrayed by his nobles, retired with precipitation; fell ill; and died in a miſerable cottage, at a village called Brios, in the fifty-fourth year of his age [33]. LET. VII. A. D. 877.

A CAPITULAR in the laſt year of Charles's reign, permits the nobility to tranſmit their employments to their ſons, or to their fathers [34]. This privilege, extorted from the crown, as I have already obſerved [35], was one of the principal ſources of diſorder in the feudal government; and tended, as we ſhall have occaſion to ſee, to the abolition of all political ſubjection. In the mean time I muſt ſpeak of a people, who deſerve your attention, no leſs on account of their manners than their warlike atchievements.

LETTER VIII.

The NORMANS, *or* DANES, *before their Settlement in* FRANCE *and* ENGLAND.

LET. VIII.

THE braveſt and moſt liberal minded of the Saxons, my dear Boy, I have already obſerved [1], on the final reduction of their country by Charlemagne, fled from the dominion and perſecutions of the conqueror, into the ancient Scandinavia, or the preſent kingdoms of Sweden, Denmark, and Norway, carrying with them their vengeance, and violent averſion to Chriſtianity. There meeting with a people of ſimilar manners, and of the ſame religion, they were cordially received, and ſoon ſtimulated the natives to new enterpriſes; which at once promiſed revenge to the fugitives, and ſubſiſtence to the inhabitants of countries then overſtocked. In their different incurſions on the continent, they were known by the general name of Normans, from their northern ſituation; and in their attacks upon Britain, by the name of Danes, whatever country they belonged to. They became the terror of all the maritime parts of Europe. But before I ſpeak of their depredations, I muſt ſay a few words of their religion and manners.

THE manners of a people, and their popular ſuperſtition, depend mutually on each other. Religion takes its complexion originally from the manners: men form a deity according to their own ideas, their prejudices, their paſſions; and the manners are, in a great meaſure, continued or altered by the religion, if calculated, like moſt popular creeds, to affect the ima-

imagination. The religion of the ancient Scandinavians was highly ſo, and was preſerved entire among the Normans, who likewiſe retained their unadulterated manners. They were worthy of each other; equally bloody and barbarous, but formed to inſpire the moſt enthuſiaſtic courage, and the moſt unremitted perſeverance in toil. Odin, whom the Saxons called Woden, was their ſupreme divinity. They painted him as the god of *terror*; the author of *devaſtation*; the father of *carnage*: and they worſhipped him accordingly. They ſacrificed human victims to him: they believed thoſe would ſtand higheſt in his favour who had killed moſt warriors in the field; that after death the brave ſhould be admitted into his palace, and have the happineſs of eternally drinking beer out of the bleeding ſkulls of their enemies[3].

In conſequence of this belief, fatigues, wounds, combats, and dangers, were the exerciſe of infancy, and the ſport of youth. They were forbid to pronounce the word fear, even on the moſt perilous occaſions. Education, prejudice, manners, example, habit, all contributed to ſubdue in them the ſenſation of timidity. They not only died with reſolution, but ſometimes even with ſigns of joy. "Our warriors," ſays one of their poets, "greedy of death, ſeek it "with fury: when ſtruck in battle by a mortal blow, "they fall chearfully, and laughing die!" They wanted only military diſcipline to have enſlaved the whole Chriſtian world, then ſinking under the weight of a debaſing ſuperſtition, and cringing beneath the rod of prieſtly tyranny.

Though Charlemagne, as I have already had occaſion to notice, took many wiſe precautions againſt the Normans, he was not able entirely to prevent their irruptions, and was only freed by the death of their

LET. VIII. leader from a dangerous competition. Under Lewis the Debonair, they threw all France into alarm; and, under Charles the Bald, they committed frightful ravages. Their fleets, compoſed of light barques, braved the ſtorms of the ocean, and penetrated every where. They ſometimes landed on the coaſt, and ſometimes in the interior parts of the country, by means of the navigable rivers. The government took no effectual meaſures againſt them, and the unprotected people knew nothing but fear. Fire and ſword, on all hands, marked the route of the robbers. With their booty they carried off women, to whom they were much addicted, and boys to ſupply their fleet. They were no ſooner gone, than they again returned. They pillaged Rouen twice; they ſurpriſed and burnt
A. D. 845. Paris; they laid waſte Aquitaine and other provinces, and reduced the king to the greateſt extremities [3]. Shut up at St. Denis, while his capital was in flames, Charles was leſs anxious about ſaving his people, than the reliques. Inſtead of encountering the enemy, he bought a peace; or, in other words, he furniſhed the Normans with the means, while he inſpired them with the motive of a new war. They returned accordingly; and Charles, to complete his diſgrace, when going to aſſiſt the pope in the laſt year of his reign, publiſhed a capitular to regulate the contributions to be paid to the Normans [4].

ENGLAND alſo experienced a variety of calamities from the incurſions of theſe ravagers, till it found a protector in the great Alfred. But before I proceed to the reign of that illuſtrious prince, we muſt take a view of his predeceſſors from the end of the Saxon Heptarchy.

LETTER



LETTER IX.

ENGLAND, *from the End of the* SAXON HEPTARCHY, *to the Death of* ALFRED *the* GREAT.

LET. IX.

EGBERT, the firſt ſole monarch of England, was a prince of eminent abilities and great experience. He had enjoyed a conſiderable command in the armies of Charlemagne, by whom he was much reſpected, and had acted ſucceſsfully againſt the Normans, and other enemies of the empire. After his return to Britain, he was engaged in a variety of ſtruggles, before he obtained the ſupreme dominion; but being the only remaining deſcendant of Hengiſt and Horſa, the firſt Saxon leaders who landed in this iſland, and who were ſuppoſed to be ſprung from Woden, the chief divinity of the ancient Saxons, the people readily transferred their allegeance to a prince who appeared to merit it equally by his birth and talents. Egbert therefore was no ſooner ſeated on the throne of England, than the ſeven kingdoms of the Heptarchy were ſtrongly cemented into one ſtate. An union of government ſeemed to promiſe internal tranquility; and the Saxons, from their inſular ſituation, and their power, had little reaſon to be afraid of foreign enemies. The Britons were humbled; and the Scots and Picts, waſted by continual wars with each other, were in no condition to moleſt Egbert: he flattered himſelf with peace and ſecurity. But human foreſight is very limited: a fleet of thoſe northern adventurers whom we have already ſeen ravaging France, under the name of Normans, ſoon gave the Engliſh monarch reaſon to alter his opinion. They firſt land-

LET. IX. A. D. 832. ed in the iſle of Shepey, pillaged it, and carried off their booty with impunity. They returned next year in thirty-five ſhips. Egbert gave them battle at Charmouth in Dorſetſhire: they were worſted, after an obſtinate diſpute, but made good their retreat to their ſhips. Now ſenſible what an enemy they had to deal with, they entered into an alliance with the Britons A. D. 835. of Cornwal; and, landing in that country, their confederates and they made an irruption into the county of Devon. They were met by Egbert at Hengeſdown, and totally defeated [t]. But while England was threatened with new alarms, this warlike monarch, who alone A. D. 838. was able to oppoſe the invaders, unfortunately died, and left the kingdom to his ſon Ethelwolf, a prince better qualified to wear the cowl than the crown.

ETHELWOLF began his reign with dividing his dominions, according to the abſurd cuſtom of thoſe times, delivering over to his eldeſt ſon, Athelſtan, the counties of Eſſex, Kent, and Suſſex: but no inconveniencies ſeem to have ariſen from this partition, the terror of the Daniſh invaders preventing all domeſtic diſſentions. Time proved that this terror was but too juſt. The Danes returned with redoubled fury; and, though often repulſed, and ſometimes defeated, they always obtained their end, by committing plunder, and carrying off their booty. They avoided coming to a general engagement, which was not ſuited to their plan of operations. Their veſſels being ſmall, ran eaſily up the creeks and rivers; they drew them aſhore, and formed an entrenchment around them, leaving them under a guard. They ſcattered themſelves over the face of the country in ſmall parties, making ſpoil of every thing that fell in their way; goods, cattle, and women. If oppoſed by a ſuperior force, they betook themſelves to their veſſels, ſet ſail, and invaded ſome diſtant quarter, not prepared for their reception.

All

All England was kept in continual alarm; nor durſt the inhabitants of one part go to the aſſiſtance of another, leſt their own families and poſſeſſions ſhould be expoſed to the fury of the ravagers [2]. Every ſeaſon of the year was alike; no man could compute on a moment's ſafety. LET. IX.

ENCOURAGED by their paſt ſucceſſes, the Danes at length landed in ſo large a body as ſeemed to threaten the whole iſland with ſubjection. But the Saxons, tho' labouring under the weight of ſuperſtition, were ſtill a gallant people: they rouſed themſelves with a vigour proportioned to the neceſſity, and defeated their invaders in ſeveral engagements [3]. The Danes however ventured, for the firſt time, to take up their winter quarters in England; and receiving in the ſpring a ſtrong reinforcement, by three hundred and fifty veſſels, they advanced from the iſle of Thanet, where they had ſtationed themſelves, and burnt the cities of London and Canterbury. They were again defeated in ſeveral engagements; yet they ſtill maintained their ſettlement in the Iſle of Thanet, and ſpent next winter in the Iſle of Shepey. A. D. 851. A. D. 853.

THE harraſſed ſtate of his kingdom did not hinder Ethelwolf from making a pilgrimage to Rome. Thither he carried Alfred, his fourth and favourite ſon, then only ſix years of age. In his return, after a twelvemonth ſpent in devotions and benefactions to the ſee of Rome, Ethelwolf married Judith, daughter of the emperor Charles the Bald; and, ſoon after his arrival in England, he conferred a perpetual and very important donation on the church, by granting the clergy a tenth out of all the produce of land. + This enormous tax upon induſtry had been long claimed by the ſervants of the altar, as a perpetual property belonging to the prieſthood: a jargon founded on the A. D. 854.

LET. IX. practice of the Jews.[†] Charlemagne had ordered the tythe to be paid in conſideration of the church-lands ſeized by the laity; but, in England, no ſuch invaſion had been made: the church enjoyed many lands, and was enriched by the continual oblations of the people; the Engliſh clergy, therefore, had not hitherto been able to obtain their demand. But a favourable opportunity now offered, and religion furniſhed the motive; a weak and ſuperſtitious prince, and an ignorant people dejected by their loſſes, and in terror of future invaſions, greedily laid hold of any means, however coſtly, of bribing the protection of Heaven[*].

DURING the abſence of Ethelwolf, his eldeſt ſon Athelſtan died; and Ethelbald, the ſecond ſon, formed the project of excluding his father from the throne. This unnatural attempt gave the pious monarch little concern: he complied with moſt of his ſon's demands; and the kingdom was divided between them. Ethel-
A. D 857. wolf lived only two years after his return to England, which he left by his will to be ſhared between his two eldeſt ſons, Ethelbald and Ethelbert.

ETHELBALD was a profligate prince, but his reign
A. D. 860. was happily ſhort; and Ethelbert ſucceeding to the government of the whole kingdom, conducted himſelf, during a reign of five years, in a manner more ſuitable to his rank. England was ſtill infeſted by the Danes; who, in this reign, ſacked Wincheſter, but were there defeated.

A. D. 866. ETHELBERT was ſucceeded by his brother Ethelred, whoſe whole reign was one continued ſtruggle with the Danes. He defended his kingdom with much bravery, and was gallantly ſeconded in all his enterpriſes by his younger brother Alfred; who, tho' excluded from a large inheritance left him by his father, gene-

generouſly ſacrificed his reſentment to the public good. Ethelred died in the midſt of his troubles, and left his diſordered kingdom to his brother Alfred. LET. IX. A. D. 872.

ALFRED was now twenty years of age, and a prince of very promiſing talents. He had no ſooner buried his brother, than he was obliged to take the field againſt the Danes. They had ſeized Wilton, and were ravaging the neighbouring country. He gave them battle, and at firſt gained ſome advantage over them; but, purſuing his victory too far, he was worſted by reaſon of the enemy's numbers. The loſs of the Danes, however, was ſo conſiderable, that, fearing Alfred might receive reinforcements from his ſubjects, they ſtipulated for a ſafe retreat, under a promiſe to depart the kingdom. But they were no ſooner free from danger than they renewed their ravages. A new ſwarm of Danes landed under three principal leaders; and Alfred, in one year, fought eight battles with theſe faithleſs and inhuman invaders, and reduced them to the greateſt extremity. But this generous prince again condeſcending to treat with them, was again deceived; while he was expecting the execution of the agreement, a third ſwarm landed from the northern hive, and reduced the Saxons to deſpair. They believed themſelves abandoned by Heaven to deſtruction; ſince, after all their vigorous efforts, new invaders ſtill poured in upon them, as greedy of ſpoil and ſlaughter as the former. Some left their country, others ſubmitted to the conquerors[s]; but none would liſten to the exhortations of Alfred; who, ſtill undiſmayed, begged them to make one exertion more in defence of their poſſeſſions, their liberties, and their prince. A. D. 875.

THUS abandoned by his ſubjects, the illuſtrious monarch was obliged to lay aſide the enſigns of his dignity,

LET. IX.

dignity, and aſſume the habit of a peaſant. In this mean diſguiſe he eluded the purſuit and the fury of his enemies; and, that he might ſave his country, even condeſcended to live for ſome time as ſervant to a grazier[6]. But the human mind is as little ſuited to employments beneath, as above its capacity: the great Alfred made a bad cow-herd. His guardian genius was occupied about higher cares; and, as ſoon as he found the ſearch of his enemies become more remiſs, he collected ſome of his adherents, and retired into the middle of a moraſs, formed by the ſtagnating waters of the Thone and Parret, where finding ſome firm ground, he built and fortified a caſtle, not leſs ſecured by its own ſtrength than by its remote and inacceſſible ſituation. This place he called Æthelingey, or the Iſle of Nobles[7]. It now bears the name of Athelney. Here, during a twelvemonth, Alfred lay concealed, but not inactive: he made frequent and unexpected ſallies upon the Danes; who often felt the vigour of his arm, but knew not whence the blow came, or by whom it was directed. At length a proſperous event emboldened the royal fugitive to leave his retreat, and enter on a ſcene of action more worthy of himſelf.

ODDUNE, earl of Devonſhire, being beſieged in his caſtle by Hubba, a celebrated Daniſh general, made an unexpected ſally upon the enemy, put them to rout, and purſued them with great ſlaughter; killed Hubba himſelf, and got poſſeſſion of the famous *Reafen*, or Raven, an enchanted ſtandard, in which the Danes put great confidence[8]. The news of this victory was immediately carried by the faithful earl to Alfred, who was happy to find the ſeeds of valour beginning to revive among his ſubjects; but, before he would aſſemble them in arms, he reſolved to inſpect the ſituation of the enemy, and judge of the probability of ſucceſs, as an unfortunate attempt in the

the preſent ſtate of national deſpondency muſt have terminated in final ruin. In conſequence of this reſolution, he entered the Daniſh camp under the diſguiſe of a harper, and paſſed unſuſpected through every quarter. He obſerved the ſupine ſecurity of the ravagers, their contempt of the Engliſh, and their neglect of all military regulations. Encouraged by theſe propitious appearances, he ſent ſecret intelligence to his moſt powerful ſubjects, and ſummoned them to aſſemble, along with their retainers, on the borders of Selwood foreſt [9]. The Engliſh, who inſtead of ending their calamities by ſubmiſſion, as they fondly hoped, had found the inſolence and rapine of the conquerors more intolerable than the dangers and fatigues of war, joyfully reſorted to the place of rendezvous. They ſaluted their beloved monarch with burſts of applauſe; they could not ſatiate their eyes with the ſight of a prince whom they had believed dead, and who now appeared as their deliverer: they begged to be led to liberty and vengeance. Alfred did not ſuffer their ardour to cool: he conducted them inſtantly to Eddington, where the Danes lay encamped; and, taking advantage of his previous knowledge of the enemy's ſituation, he directed his attack againſt their moſt unguarded quarter. Surpriſed to ſee an army of Engliſhmen, whom they conſidered as totally ſubdued, and ſtill more to find Alfred at their head, the Danes made but a feeble reſiſtance, notwithſtanding their ſuperiority of number [10]. They were ſoon put to flight, and routed with great ſlaughter. D. A. 880.

ALFRED, no leſs generous than brave, and who knew as well how to govern as to conquer, took the remainder of the Daniſh army, and their prince Guthrum, under his protection. He granted them their lives on ſubmiſſion, and liberty to ſettle in the kingdoms of Northumberland and Eaſt Anglia, (which

LET. IX. were entirely deſolated by the frequent inroads of their countrymen) on condition that they ſhould embrace Chriſtianity. They conſented, and were baptiſed. The king ſtood god-father for Guthrum [11].

THIS mode of population correſponded with Alfred's expectations: the greater part of the Danes ſettled peaceably in their new poſſeſſions; and the more turbulent made an expedition into France, under their famous leader Haſtings, who afterwards invaded Eng-
A. D. 893. land, but was expelled by the valour and vigilance of Alfred [12].

IN the mean time this great prince was employed in eſtabliſhing civil and military inſtitutions; in compoſing the minds of men to induſtry and juſtice, and in providing againſt the return of like calamities. After rebuilding the ruined cities, particularly London, which had been deſtroyed by the Danes in the reign of Ethelwolf, he eſtabliſhed a regular militia for the defence of the kingdom. He took care that all his ſubjects ſhould be armed and regiſtered, and aſſigned them a regular round of duty: he diſtributed one part into the caſtles and fortreſſes, which he erected at proper places; he appointed another to take the field on any alarm, and aſſemble at ſtated places of rendezvous; and he left a ſufficient number at home, who were employed in the cultivation of the lands, and afterwards took their turn in military ſervice. The whole kingdom was like one great garriſon: the Danes could no ſooner land in any quarter, than a ſufficient force was ready to oppoſe them, and that without leaving the other parts naked or defenceleſs [13].

BUT Alfred did not truſt ſolely to his land forces. He may be conſidered as the creator of the Engliſh navy, as well as the eſtabliſher of the monarchy. Senſible

Senſible that ſhips are the moſt natural bulwark of an iſland, a circumſtance hitherto entirely overlooked by the Saxons, or Engliſh, as they began now to be generally called, he provided himſelf with a naval force, and met the Danes on their own element. A fleet of an hundred and twenty armed veſſels was ſtationed upon the coaſt; and being provided with warlike engines, and expert ſeamen, both Friſians and Engliſh, maintained a ſuperiority over the enemy[14], and gave birth to that claim, which England ſtill ſupports, ~~to~~ the ſovereignty of the Ocean.

IN this manner did Alfred provide for the ſecurity of his kingdom; and the excellent poſture of defence every where eſtabliſhed, together with the wiſdom and valour of the prince, at length reſtored peace and tranquility to England, and communicated a conſequence unknown in the monarchy. But I ſhould convey to you, my dear Boy, a very imperfect idea of Alfred's merit, were I to confine myſelf merely to his military and political talents. His judicial inſtitutions, and his zeal for the encouragement of arts and ſciences, demand your particular attention. We muſt therefore conſider him in a character altogether civil; as the father of Engliſh law, and Engliſh literature.

THOUGH Alfred, in the early part of his reign, had ſubdued, ſettled, or expelled the Danes, as a body, ſtraggling troops of that people afterwards continued to infeſt the kingdom with their robberies; and even the native Engliſh, reduced to extreme indigence by theſe and former depredations, betook themſelves to a like diſorderly life: they joined the robbers in pillaging the more wealthy part of their fellow-citizens. Theſe evils required redreſs, and Alfred provided effectually againſt them. In order to render the execution of juſtice more ſtrict and regular, he divided

all

LET. IX. all England into counties; theſe counties he ſubdivided into hundreds, and the hundreds into tythings. Every houſholder was anſwerable for the behaviour of his family, of his ſlaves, and even of his gueſts, if they reſided above three days in his houſe. Ten neighbouring houſholders, anſwerable for each other's conduct, were formed into one corporation, under the name of a tything, decennary, or fribourg, over which a perſon called a tything-man, headbourg, or borſholder preſided. Every man was puniſhed as an outlaw who did not regiſter himſelf in ſome tything; and no man could change his habitation, without a warrant and certificate from the borſholder of the tything to which he formerly belonged [5].

THESE regulations may ſeem rigorous, and are not perhaps neceſſary in times when men are habituated to obedience and juſtice, but they were well calculated to reduce a fierce and licentious people, under the ſalutary reſtraints of law and government; and Alfred took care to temper their ſeverity by other inſtitutions favourable to the freedom and ſecurity of the ſubject. Nothing can be more liberal than his plan for the adminiſtration of juſtice. The borſholder ſummoned his whole decennary to aſſiſt him in the deciſion of ſmaller differences among the members of the corporation: in controverſies of greater moment, the diſpute was brought before the hundred, which conſiſted of ten decennaries, or an hundred families of freemen, and was regularly aſſembled once in four weeks, for the trying of cauſes [6]. Their mode of deciſion claims your attention: twelve freeholders were choſen; who having ſworn along with the magiſtrate of the hundred to adminiſter impartial juſtice, proceeded to the examination of the cauſe that was ſubmitted to them. In this ſimple form of trial you will perceive the origin of juries, or judgment by equals,

equals, an inſtitution now almoſt peculiar to England; admirable in itſelf, and the beſt calculated for the preſervation of man's natural rights, and the adminiſtration of juſtice, that human wiſdom ever deviſed.

BESIDES theſe monthly meetings of the hundred, there was an annual meeting, appointed for the more general inſpection of the police of the diſtrict; inquiring into crimes, correcting abuſes in magiſtrates, and obliging every perſon to ſhew the decennary in which he was regiſtered. In imitation of their anceſtors the ancient Germans, the people on thoſe occaſions aſſembled in arms; whence a hundred was ſometimes called a Wapentake, and its court ſerved for the ſupport of military diſcipline, as well as the adminiſtration of juſtice [17].

THE next ſuperior court to that of the hundred was the county-court, which met twice a-year, and conſiſted of all the freeholders of the county, who had an equal vote in the deciſion of cauſes; but of this court I have already ſpoke in treating of the laws and government of the Saxons [18]: I ſhall therefore only add here, that to the alderman, and biſhop, Alfred added a third judge in each county, under the name of Sheriff, who enjoyed equal authority with the two former [19]. His office alſo impowered him to guard the rights of the crown in the county, and levy the fines impoſed; which, in an age when money atoned for almoſt every violation of the laws of ſociety, formed no inconſiderable branch of the public revenue.

IN default of juſtice from all theſe courts, an appeal lay to the king himſelf in council; and as the wiſdom and juſtice of Alfred were univerſally revered, he was ſoon overwhelmed with appeals from all parts of his dominions. In order to remedy this inconvenience, he

CHAP. IX. he choſe the earls and ſheriffs from among the men moſt celebrated for probity and knowledge in the kingdom: he puniſhed ſeverely all malverſation in office; he removed all whom he found uneqal to the truſt[20]; and, the better to guide magiſtrates of all kinds in the adminiſtration of juſtice, he framed a body of laws; which though now loſt, ſerved long as the baſis of Engliſh juriſprudence, and is generally eſteemed the origin of our COMMON LAW.

ALFRED appointed regular meetings of the ſtates of England twice a-year in the city of London, which he himſelf had repaired and beautified, and which henceforth became the capital of the kingdom. Every thing ſoon bore a new face under his wiſe and equitable government. Such ſucceſs attended his legiſlation, and ſo exact was the general police, that he is ſaid to have hung up, by way of trial, golden bracelets near the highroads, and no man dared to touch them[21]. But this great prince, though rigorous in the adminiſtration of juſtice, which he wiſely conſidered as the beſt means of repreſſing crimes, preſerved the moſt ſacred regard to the liberty of his people. His concern on this ſubject extended even to future times, and ought to endear his memory to every Engliſhman. "It is juſt," ſays he in his will, "that the Engliſh ſhould for ever remain "FREE AS THEIR OWN THOUGHTS[22]!"

AFTER providing for the ſecurity of his kingdom, and taming his ſubjects to the reſtraints of law, Alfred extended his care to thoſe things which aggrandize a nation, and make a people happy. Senſible that good morals and knowledge are almoſt inſeparable in every age, though not in every individual, he gave great encouragement to the purſuit of learning. He invited over the moſt celebrated ſcholars from all parts of Europe; he eſtabliſhed ſchools every where for the in-

inſtruction of the ignorant; he founded, or at leaſt repaired, the univerſity of Oxford, and endowed it with many privileges, revenues, and immunities; he enjoined by law all freeholders poſſeſſed of two hides of land to ſend their children to ſchool; and he gave preferment, either in church or ſtate, to ſuch only as had made ſome proficiency in knowledge [23]. But the moſt effectual expedient employed by Alfred for the encouragement of learning, was his own example, and the progreſs which he made in ſcience. Notwithſtanding the multiplicity of civil objects which engaged his attention, and though he fought in perſon fifty-ſix battles by ſea and land, this illuſtrious hero and legiſlator was able to acquire by his unremitted induſtry, during a life of no extraordinary length, more knowledge, and even to produce more books, than moſt ſpeculative men, in more fortunate ages, who have devoted their whole time to ſtudy. He compoſed a variety of poems, fables, and apt ſtories, to lead the untutored mind to the love of letters, and bend the heart to the practice of virtue. For the ſame purpoſe, he tranſlated from the Greek the elegant fables of Æſop. He alſo gave Saxon tranſlations of the hiſtories of Oroſius and Bede, and of the Conſolation of Philoſophy, by Boetius [24].

ALFRED was no leſs attentive to the propagation of thoſe mechanical arts, which have a more ſenſible, though not a more intimate connexion with the welfare of a ſtate. He introduced and encouraged manufactures of all kinds, and ſuffered no inventor or improver of any uſeful or ingenious art to go unrewarded. He prompted men of activity and induſtry to apply themſelves to navigation, and to puſh commerce into the moſt diſtant countries; and he ſet apart a ſeventh portion of his own revenue for maintaining a number of workmen, whom he employed in rebuilding the ruined cities and caſtles. The elegancies of life

LET. IX. are ſaid to have been brought to him, even from the Mediterranean and the Indies[25]; and his ſubjects ſeeing theſe deſirable productions, and the means of acquiring riches by trade, were taught to reſpect thoſe peaceful virtues by which alone ſuch bleſſings can be earned or inſured.

THIS extraordinary man, who is juſtly conſidered, both by natives and foreigners, as the greateſt prince after Charlemagne that Europe ſaw for ſeveral ages, and as one of the wiſeſt and beſt that ever adorned the
A. D. 901. annals of any nation, died in the year 901, in the vigour of his age, and the full ſtrength of his faculties, after a life of fifty-three years, and a glorious reign of twenty-nine years and a half. His merit, both in public and private life, may be ſet in oppoſition to that of any ſovereign or citizen in ancient or modern times. He ſeems indeed, as is obſerved by an elegant and profound hiſtorian[26], to be the complete model of that perfect character, which, under the denomination of a ſage, or truly wiſe man, the philoſophers have been ſo fond of delineating, without the hopes of ever ſeeing it realized.

LETTER

LETTER X.

The EMPIRE *of* CHARLEMAGNE *and the* CHURCH, *from the Death of* CHARLES *the* BALD, *to the Death of* LEWIS IV. *when the* IMPERIAL DIGNITY *was tranſlated from the* FRENCH *to the* GERMANS.

LET. X.

THE continent of Europe, my dear Boy, towards the end of the ninth century, offers nothing to our view but calamities, diſorders, revolutions, and anarchy. Lewis the Stammerer, ſon of Charles the Bald, may be ſaid to have bought the crown at the price, and on the conditions, which the biſhops and nobles were pleaſed to impoſe on him. He was not acknowledged till after he had ſhowered lands, honours, and offices on the nobility, and promiſed that the clergy ſhould enjoy the ſame emoluments, and the ſame privileges, which they had poſſeſſed under Lewis the Debonair [1]. A. D. 877.

POPE John VIII. made an effort to get Lewis elected emperor, in the room of his father, by the Italian ſtates; but not being able to carry his point, he retired into France, and held a council at Troyes, where he excommunicated the duke of Spoleto, and the marquis of Tuſcany, for oppoſing his meaſures, and attacking the eccleſiaſtical ſtate. One of the canons of this council is very remarkable: it expreſsly bears, that "the *powers of the world* ſhall not dare to "ſeat themſelves in the preſence of biſhops, unleſs "deſired [2]."

LET. X.

A. D. 879. LEWIS the Stammerer died in 879, after a reign of about eighteen months, and left his queen Adelaide pregnant. He was ſucceeded by Lewis III. and Carloman, two ſons by a former wife, whom he had divorced. Duke Boſon, father in-law to Carloman, procured them the crown, that he might afterwards ſhare the monarchy. By his intrigues with the pope and the clergy, he got a council to declare the neceſſity of erecting a new kingdom: and they beſtowed by the divine inſpiration, to uſe their own language, the kingdom of Arles, or Provence, upon this ambitious duke [1]. Italy was in the poſſeſſion of Carloman, king of Bavaria, who had alſo ſeized part of Lorrain, and the French nobility already enjoyed moſt of the lands; ſo that a king of France retained little more than the mere ſhadow of royalty.

ON the death of Lewis and Carloman, the joint kings of France, who lived in harmony notwithſtanding their confined ſituation, their brother Charles, born after his father's death, and known by the name of the Simple, ought to have ſucceeded to the monarchy, by the right of birth; but as he was only five years old, and the nobility were deſirous of a king capable of governing, or at leaſt were afraid of the advancement of Hugh, ſurnamed the Abbot, to the regency, (a nobleman of great integrity and abilities)
A. D. 883. they elected Charles the Fat, ſon of Lewis the German, already emperor, and ſucceſſor to his two brothers. He reunited in his perſon all the French empire, except the kingdom of the uſurper Boſon; and proved, (what thoſe who elected him had not ſufficiently attended to, if they meant the welfare of the ſtate) that a prince may conduct his affairs with judgment, while confined within a moderate compaſs, and yet be very unfit for the government of a great empire.

THE

THE incapacity, and even the courage of Charles, became ſoon too obvious to be diſputed. Tho' he had governed his paternal dominions without any viſible defect of judgment, and raiſed himſelf to the empire by his reputation and addreſs, his mind, inſtead of expanding itſelf to its new object, even ſhrunk from it, and contracted itſelf, till every mark of abilities diſappeared[4]. After diſgracing himſelf by ceding Friezland to the Normans, and promiſing them a tribute, he rouſed them by his perfidy, while he encouraged them by his weakneſs. Enraged at the death of their king, who had been invited to a conference, and murdered, they entered France, penetrated as far as Pontoiſe, burnt that city, and beſieged Paris[5].

THIS ſiege is much celebrated by the French hiſtorians: prodigies are related of both ſides. Eudes, count of Paris, whom we ſhall ſoon ſee on the throne of France, his brother Robert, biſhop Goſlin, after his death biſhop Anſcheric, and abbot Eble, nephew to Goſlin, were particularly diſtinguiſhed by their valour and patriotiſm. The beſieged defended themſelves more than a year againſt an army of thirty thouſand men, and the combined efforts of courage and ſtratagem, before the emperor came to their relief. At length Charles appeared on the mountain of Montmart, with the whole militia of his dominions under arms, fully perſuaded that the Normans would retire at the ſight of his ſtandards[6]. But he ſoon found his miſtake: they did not ſhew the ſmalleſt alarm; and Charles, preferring a ſhameful negociation to a doubtful victory, engaged to pay them a prodigious ranſom for his capital, and the ſafety of his kingdom. Nay, what was ſtill more diſgraceful, not being able to raiſe the money till the ſpring, it being then the month of November, he permitted the Normans to winter

A. D. 887.

LET. X. winter in Burgundy, which had not yet acknowledged his authority; or, in other words, to continue their ravages, which they did with the moſt inſatiable fury [7].

THIS ignominious treaty, and its conſequences, entirely ruined the emperor's reputation, which was already low. He had no miniſter in whom he could confide; for he was neither loved nor feared. The Germans firſt revolted. Charles had incurred the hatred of the nobility by attempting to limit the hereditary fiefs; and he made the clergy his enemies, while he expoſed himſelf to univerſal contempt, by proſecuting Ludard, biſhop of Verceil, his prime miniſter, and the only perſon of authority in his ſervice, on ſuſpicion of a criminal correſpondence with the empreſs Rachel, whom he impriſoned, and who completed his diſgrace. She kept no meaſures with him: ſhe affirmed, that ſhe was not only innocent of the crime laid to her charge, but a pure virgin, yet untouched by her huſband and her accuſer; in ſupport of which aſſeveration ſhe offered to undergo any trial that ſhould be aſſigned her, (according to the ſuperſtitious cuſtom of thoſe times, when an appeal to Heaven ſupplied the place of a jury of matrons) and inſiſted on being admitted to her purgation. Ludard
A. D. 888. foſtered the general diſcontent; and Charles was depoſed in a diet of the empire, and neglected to ſuch a degree, as to be obliged to ſubſiſt by the liberality of the biſhop of Mentz [8].

ARNOLD, the baſtard ſon of Carloman, late king of Bavaria, and grandſon of Lewis the German, was now raiſed to the imperial dignity. Italy ſubmitted alternately to Berengarius, duke of Friuli, and Guido, or Guy, duke of Spoleto, both of the family of Charlemagne by the mother's ſide. Their competitions were long and bloody. Count Eudes, whoſe valour ſaved

ſaved Paris, and whoſe father, Robert the Strong, had not been leſs brave and illuſtrious, was elected king of France; which he agreed to hold in truſt for Charles the Simple, yet a minor[9].

BUT France, notwithſtanding the courage and talents of Eudes, was ſtill a ſcene of contention and diſorder. A faction pretended to aſſert the right of the lawful heir, who was not really injured, and Eudes ceded to him the greater part of the kingdom. Count Ralph, or Rodolph, eſtabliſhed the kingdom of Burgundy Transjuran, (ſo called on account of its relation to mount Jura) which comprehended nearly the preſent Switzerland and Franche Comté[10]. A council confirmed to Lewis, the ſon of Boſon, the kingdom of Arles, as a council had given it to his father. Hiſtory would be nothing but a mere chaos, were it to comprehend all the effects of violence, treachery, and anarchy, that this period produced: I ſhall therefore only notice the leading circumſtances, which alone deſerve your attention.

EUDES died in 898, without being able to remedy the diſorders of the ſtate; and Charles the Simple, but too juſtly ſo named, now acknowledged king of France in his own right, increaſed by his weakneſs the prevailing evils. The nobles aſpired openly at independency; they uſurped the governments with which they had been intruſted, and extorted confirmations of them from Charles for themſelves and their heirs, on the eaſy condition of an empty homage[11]. A large, and once well-regulated kingdom, was divided into a multitude of ſeparate principalities, altogether independent of the crown, or dependent only in name, whoſe poſſeſſors waged continual wars with each other, and exerciſed an inſupportable tyranny over their dependents, their vaſſals, and ſub-vaſſals[12]; by which means

A. D. 898.

LET. X. means the great body of the people was either reduced to a ſtate of abſolute ſervitude, or to a condition ſo precarious and wretched, that they were often happy to exchange it for protection and ſlavery [13].

THE Normans took advantage of this ſtate of weakneſs and anarchy, to eſtabliſh themſelves in France. Rollo, one of their moſt illuſtrious chiefs, and truly a great prince, after having ſpread terror over all the maritime provinces of Europe, ſailed up the Seine, took Rouen, fortified it, and made it his head-quarters. Now ſure of a ſafe retreat, he ſet no bounds to his depredations; and, in a ſhort time, became ſo formidable, that Charles offered him his daughter in marriage, and the province of Neuſtria, as her dower. Francon, archbiſhop of Rouen, was charged with the negociation: he only demanded, that Rollo ſhould acknowledge Charles as his ſuperior, and become a Chriſtian; and, to induce the Norman to embrace the faith, the prelate preached of a future ſtate, of hell and of heaven. Intereſt determined Rollo. After conſulting his ſoldiers, who, like moſt gentlemen of the cloth, were very eaſy on the article of religion, he agreed to the treaty, on condition that the province of Bretagne ſhould alſo be ceded to him, till Neuſtria could be cultivated, which was then entirely deſolated by the ravages of his countrymen. It was granted
A. D. 911. him: he was baptiſed, and did homage for his crown, leſs as a vaſſal than a conqueror [14].

ROLLO was worthy of his good fortune: he ſunk the ſoldier in the ſovereign, and proved himſelf no leſs ſkilled in the arts of peace than thoſe of war. Neuſtria, which henceforth took the name of Normandy, in honour of its new inhabitants, ſoon became happy and flouriſhing under his laws. Senſible that the power of a prince is always in proportion to the

the number of his ſubjects, he invited the better ſort of Normans from all parts to come and ſettle in his dominions. He encouraged agriculture and induſtry; was particularly ſevere in puniſhing theft, robbery, and every ſpecies of violence; and rigidly exact in the adminiſtration of juſtice, which he ſaw was the great baſis of policy, and without which his people would naturally return to their former irregularities[15]. The taſte of ſociety increaſed with the conveniencies of life, and the love of juſtice with the benefits derived from it: ſo that the duchy of Normandy was in a ſhort time not only populous and cultivated, but the Normans were regular in their manners, and obedient to the laws. A band of pirates became good citizens, and their leader the greateſt prince, and the wiſeſt legiſlator of the age in which he lived.

WHILE theſe things paſſed in France, great alterations took place in the neighbouring ſtates, and among the princes of the blood of Charlemagne: the moſt remarkable only merit your attention. Arnold king of Germany, and emperor of the Weſt, was ſucceeded by his ſon, Lewis IV. only ſeven years of age. Another Lewis, king of Arles, and ſon of the uſurper Boſon, croſſed the Alps, and obliged pope Benedict IV. to crown him emperor; but he was ſoon after ſurprized at Verona by Berengarius, who put out his eyes, and aſcended the throne of Italy, which he had long diſputed with the emperor Arnold[16]. In the mean time Lewis IV. died, and the empire de- A. D. 911.
parted from the French to the Germans; from the family of Charlemagne, to thoſe Saxons whom he had ſubdued and perſecuted; who became, in their turn, the protectors of that religion for which they had ſuffered, and the perſecutors of other Pagans. But this revolution deſerves a particular Letter.

LETTER

LETTER XI.

The GERMAN EMPIRE, *from the Election of* CONRAD I. *to the Death of* HENRY *the* FOWLER.

LET. XI.

SOME hiſtorians, my dear Boy, are of opinion, that the German empire does not properly commence till the reign of Otho the Great, when Italy was reunited to the imperial dominions; but the extinction of the race of Charlemagne in Germany, when the empire was wholly detached from France, and the imperial dignity became elective, ſeems to me the moſt natural period to fix its origin, though the two firſt emperors never received the papal ſanction. I ſhall therefore begin with Conrad, the firſt German who ruled the empire, after it ceaſed to be conſidered as an appendage of France.

THOUGH the ſucceſſors of Charlemagne had, in reality, poſſeſſed the empire by virtue of hereditary deſcent, they uſually procured the conſent of their grandees to their teſtamentary deeds, that no diſputes might ariſe about the ſucceſſion. This precaution was more particularly neceſſary, as the imperial dominions were generally divided among the children of the family, who were by that means in a better condition to conteſt a doubtful title. What was at firſt no more than a political condeſcenſion in the emperors, was in time interpreted into a privilege of the nobility; and hence originated the right of thoſe electors, by whom the emperor is ſtill inveſted with the imperial power and dignity. They had already depoſed

depoſed Charles the Fat, and raiſed to the empire Arnold, baſtard of Carloman, king of Bavaria [1].

THUS authoriſed by cuſtom, the German nobles aſſembled at Worms, on the death of Lewis IV. and not judging Charles the Simple worthy to govern them, they offered the imperial crown to Otho, duke of Saxony; but he declined it, on account of his age; and, with a generoſity peculiar to himſelf, recommended Conrad, duke of Franconia, though his enemy, who was accordingly elected by the diet. The empire of Germany then comprehended Franconia, the province of Bamberg, Suabia, Conſtans, Baſil, Bern, Lauſanne, Burgundy, Bezançon, Lorrain, Metz, Liege, Cambray, Arras, Flanders, Holland, Zealand, Utrecht, Cologne, Treves, Mentz, Worms, Spire, Straſbourg, Friezland, Saxony, Heſſe, Weſtphalia, Thuringia, Wetteravia, Miſnia, Brandenbourg, Pomerania, Rugen, Stetin, Holſtein, Auſtria, Carinthia, Stiria, the Tyroleſe, Bavaria, the Griſons, and, in general, all the countries ſituated among theſe provinces, and their dependencies [2]. A. D. 912.

THE reign of Conrad I. was one continued ſcene of troubles, though he took every neceſſary meaſure to ſupport his authority, and preſerve the tranquility of the empire. He was no ſooner elected, than he had occaſion to march into Lorrain; where the nobility being attached to the family of Charlemagne, acknowledged Charles the Simple as their ſovereign, and offered to put him in poſſeſſion of that country. Before Conrad could ſettle the affairs of Lorrain, he was recalled by the revolt of ſeveral powerful dukes, who envied his promotion. One rebellion ſucceeded another; and, to complete his misfortunes, the Huns, or Hungarians, invaded the empire. They had for ſome time been accuſtomed to paſs the entrenchments formed

LET. XII. formed by Charlemagne, along the Raab, to reſtrain their incurſions; and, no leſs fierce than their anceſtors, they had laid every thing waſte before them, and ſpurned all oppoſition. In 901 they ravaged Bavaria, Suabia, Franconia: all Germany felt their fury. Lewis IV. ſubmitted to pay them an annual tribute. They ſeveral times pillaged Italy; and now in their way from that country, where they had humbled Berengarius, taking advantage of the troubles of
A. D. 917. the empire, they made irruptions into Saxony, Thuringia, Franconia, Lorrain, and Alſace, which they deſolated with fire and ſword, and obliged Conrad to purchaſe a peace on the moſt ſhameful conditions [3]. He died without male heirs, in 919, after recommending to the ſtates as his ſucceſſor, Henry duke of Saxony, ſon of that Otho to whom he owed his crown.

HENRY I. ſurnamed the Fowler, becauſe he de-
A. D. 920. lighted much in the purſuit of birds, was elected with univerſal applauſe by the aſſembled ſtates, compoſed of the clergy, the principal nobility, and the chiefs of the army. It was ſtill undecided whether Lorrain ſhould belong to France or Germany: Henry, as ſoon
A. D. 925. as the ſituation of his affairs would permit, entered it with a powerful army, and ſubdued the whole country. His next care was the internal peace and proſperity of the empire: he publiſhed a general amneſty in favour of all thieves and banditti, provided they would enliſt in his armies, and actually formed them into a troop. He created marquiſes, in imitation of Charlemagne, to guard the frontiers of the empire againſt the Barbarians, and obliged all vaſſals and ſubvaſſals to furniſh ſoldiers, and corn for their ſubſiſtence [4]. He likewiſe ordered the principal towns to be ſurrounded with walls, baſtions, and ditches; and, that the nobility might be habituated to the uſe of arms, even in time of peace, he inſtituted certain military games,

or

or tournaments, in which they vied with each other in diſplaying their valour and addreſs.

THESE wiſe meaſures being taken for the welfare of the ſtate, Henry began to prepare for war againſt the Hungarians, whom he had exaſperated by refuſing the annual compoſition, and other marks of diſdain and defiance. They entered Germany with an army of three hundred thouſand men, breathing vengeance; but Henry being ſupported by the whole force of his dominions, though ſtill inferior to theirs, defeated them with great ſlaughter at Merſbourg, and reſcued the empire from a barbarous enemy, and an ignominious tribute [5]. A. D. 932.

THE emperor having thus ſubdued his enemies, and ſecured the tranquility of his ſubjects, both at home and abroad, began to taſte the fruits of his wiſdom and valour, when the pope, and the citizens of Rome, invited him to the conqueſt of Italy, diſtracted by civil wars, offering him the holy unction, and the title of Auguſtus. Henry, who was ambitious to be maſter of Italy, and no doubt deſirous of the papal ſanction to the imperial crown, ſet out immediately at the head of his troops; but being ſeized with an apoplexy, on his march, he was obliged to return, and died at Manſleben, in Thuringia [6]. Before his death, he convoked the princes of the empire, who ſettled the ſucceſſion on his ſon Otho.

HENRY was univerſally allowed to be the ableſt ſtateſman, and the greateſt prince of Europe in his time; but his ſucceſſor Otho, afterwards ſtiled the Great, ſurpaſſed him both in power and renown, tho' not perhaps in valour or abilities; for, as the elegant and penetrating Voltaire obſerves, the acknowledged heir of a powerful prince, who has been the founder

LET. XI.

or reſtorer of a ſtate, is always more powerful than his father, if not very much inferior in courage and talents: and the reaſon is obvious. He enters on a career already opened to him, and begins where his predeceſſor ended: hence Alexander went further than Philip, Charlemagne than Pepin, and Otho the Great than Henry the Fowler. But before I proceed to the reign of Otho, we muſt take a view of the troubles of France under Charles the Simple, and his unhappy ſucceſſors of the Carlovingian race.

LETTER

LETTER XII.

FRANCE, *from the Settlement of the* NORMANS, *to the Extinction of the* CARLOVINGIAN RACE.

YOU have already, my dear Boy, ſeen the uſurpations of the nobles, and the ſettlement of the Normans, in France, under Charles the Simple. He gave daily more proofs of his weakneſs, and became equally contemptible to the French and the Normans. An attempt was made to dethrone him by Robert duke of France, brother to Eudes, the late king. This rebellion was defeated, at the time, by the unexpected anſwer of Rollo, duke of Normandy, who generouſly declared, when ſolicited to join in it, that he was equally incapable of abetting or ſuffering injuſtice!!—Yet Rollo, as we have ſeen, was once a robber by profeſſion: but then, as ought to be obſerved in his vindication, he was under engagements to no prince, and claimed the protection of no laws. He was then on a footing with the Ceſars and the Alexanders, and now only inferior in power to the Alfreds and the Charlemagnes. LET. XII.

AFTER the death of Rollo, duke Robert renewed his intrigues. He firſt made the king diſmiſs Haganon, his favourite miniſter; and next ſeized that miniſter's treaſures, with which he gratified his adherents. They declared Charles incapable of reigning, and proclaimed Robert king of France. He was ſoon after killed in battle, yet his party triumphed; and his ſon Hugh A. D. 922.

the

LET XII. the Great, or the Abbot, as he is ſtiled by ſome writers, on account of the number of rich abbies which he held, had the crown in his power, but he choſe to place it on the head of Rodolph, duke of Burgundy, who was almoſt univerſally acknowledged [2].

IN this extremity Charles had recourſe to William I. duke of Normandy, and to Henry the Fowler, who was preparing to aſſiſt him, when he was decoyed by the
A. D. 924. treacherous friendſhip of Herbert, count of Vermandois, into the fortreſs of Chatteau-Thierri, and detained priſoner. He now became the ſport of the ambition of his own rebellious ſubjects. The count releaſed him, and paid homage to him, as his ſovereign, when he wanted to gain his ends with Rodolph, and ſhut him up when they were accompliſhed. The county of Laon was the price of Charles's
A. D. 929. confinement. He died in priſon [3].

AFTER the death of Charles the Simple, Rodolph acted with much ſpirit and reſolution. He repelled the incurſions of ſome new tribes of Normans, reſtrained the licentiouſneſs of the nobles, and reſtored both tranquility and vigour to the kingdom. He died
A. D. 936. without iſſue in 936, when France was again involved in troubles, and a kind of interregnum enſued; but at length Hugh the Great, ſtill diſdaining the title of king, or afraid to uſurp it, recalled Charles's ſon Lewis, ſurnamed the Stranger, from England, whither he had been carried by his mother Egina, daughter of Edward the Elder, and grand-daughter of the great Alfred [4]. She had taken refuge in the court of her brother Athelſtan.

LEWIS was only in his ſeventeenth year when he was recalled, and in a great meaſure unacquainted with the affairs of France, yet he conducted himſelf with

with a ſpirit becoming his rank, though not, perhaps, without ſome degree of that imprudence natural to his age. He attempted to reſcue himſelf from the tyranny of duke Hugh, who had been appointed his tutor, and allowed him little more than the name of king; but, after a variety of ſtruggles, he was obliged to make peace with his vaſſal, and confirm to him the county of Laon[5], to which almoſt the whole royal domain was reduced.

LEWIS the Stranger died in 954, and left a ſhadow of royalty to his ſon Lothario; or rather Hugh the Great was pleaſed to grant him the title of king, that he himſelf might enjoy the power[6]. This ambitious nobleman, no leſs formidable than the ancient mayors, died in 955. He was ſucceeded in conſequence and abilities by his ſon Hugh Capet, whom we ſhall ſoon ſee king of France. A. D. 954. A. D. 955.

LOTHARIO neither wanted courage nor ambition. He attempted to recover Lorrain, which had been for ſome time in the poſſeſſion of the emperors of Germany; but Otho II. by an artful ſtroke of policy, diſconcerted his meaſures, and ruined his reputation. He ceded the diſputed territory to Charles the king's brother, on condition that he ſhould hold it as a fief of the empire[7]. Incenſed at this donation, by which his brother was benefited at the expence of his character, his intereſt, and the honour of his crown, Lothario aſſembled a powerful army, and marched ſuddenly to Aix-la-Chapelle, where he ſurpriſed the emperor, and put him to flight. He was vanquiſhed in his turn, and was again victorious[8]; but, after all, he was obliged to reſign Lorrain, which was divided between his brother Charles and the emperor Otho. A. D. 980.

LET. XII. LOTHARIO died in 986, and was quietly ſucceeded by his ſon Lewis V. who governed under the direction of Hugh Capet, during a ſhort reign of one year and two months, which was one continued ſcene of troubles 9. In him ended the Carlovingians, or the deſcendants of Charlemagne, the ſecond race of French kings.—The affairs of the empire now claim your attention.

A. D. 987.

LETTER

LETTER XIII.

The GERMAN EMPIRE, *and its* DEPENDENCIES, ROME, *and the* ITALIAN STATES, *under* OTHO *the* GREAT, *and his Succeſſors of the Houſe of* SAXONY.

OTHO I. deſervedly ſtiled the Great, as being the moſt powerful emperor ſince Charlemagne, and who reunited Italy to the imperial dominions, was elected at Aix-la-Chapelle in 936, by the unanimous A. D. 936. conſent of the diet there aſſembled, according to the promiſe made to his father Henry the Fowler. He began his reign with the moſt upright adminiſtration, and ſeemed deſirous to live in peace and tranquility; but his quiet was ſoon interrupted by wars both foreign and domeſtic, which he had ſufficient abilities to manage, and which terminated in his aggrandizement.

THE Hungarians, according to cuſtom, invaded the empire, committing every ſpecies of barbarity. Otho ſoon put a ſtop to their ravages. He came up with them on the plain of Dortmund, in Weſtphalia, and defeated them with great ſlaughter [1]. But A. D. 936. the Hungarians were not the only enemy that Otho had to encounter. Immediately after his return from this victory, he was informed that the Bohemians had revolted. Bohemia was then entirely barbarous, A. D. 937. and moſtly Pagan: Otho, after a variety of ſtruggles, rendered it tributary to Germany, and alſo obliged A. D. 951. the inhabitants to embrace Chriſtianity [2].

LET. XIII. In the mean time Otho was engaged in many diſputes with his own rebellious ſubjects. Arnold, duke of Bavaria, being dead, his ſon Everhard refuſed to do homage to the emperor, on pretence that he was not his vaſſal, but his ally. This ſtruggle between the crown and the great fiefs, between power which always ſeeks increaſe, and liberty which aſpires at independency, for a long time agitated Europe. It ſubſiſted in Spain, while the Chriſtians had to contend with the diſciples of Mahomet; but after the expulſion of the Moors, the ſovereign authority got the aſcendant. It was this competition that involved France in troubles till the middle of the reign of Lewis XI. when the feudal lordſhips were gradually ſtript of their power, and the nobles reduced to a dependance on the prince; that eſtabliſhed in England the mixed government, to which we owe our preſent greatneſs, and cemented in Poland the liberty of the nobles with the ſlavery of the people. The ſame ſpirit, at different times, hath troubled Sweden and Denmark, and founded the republics of Holland and Swiſſerland: the ſame cauſe hath almoſt every where produced different effects! The prerogatives of the prince have, in ſome inſtances, as in that of the German empire, been reduced to a mere title, and the national union itſelf preſerved only in the obſervance of a few inſignificant formalities. The duke of Bavaria was not willing to obſerve even theſe formalities: Otho therefore entered that country with an army, expelled Everhard, and beſtowed the duchy upon his uncle Bartolf, who willingly did homage for
A. D. 938. ſuch a preſent [3]. The emperor at the ſame time created one of Everhard's brothers count palatine of Bavaria, and the other count palatine of the Rhine.

THIS dignity of Count Palatine was revived from the counts of the palace of the Roman and French emperors. Theſe Palatines were at firſt ſupreme judges,

judges, and gave judgment in the laſt appeal, in the name of the emperor. LET. XIII.

OTHO having thus ſettled the internal tranquility of the empire, (which, however, was ſoon diſturbed by the rebellion of his brother) aſſembled a diet at Arenſberg, where among other things it was debated, whether inheritance ſhould deſcend in a direct line; whether, for example, a grandſon, heir to an elder ſon, ſhould ſucceed, on the death of his grandfather, in preference to his uncles. The diet not being able to come to any determination, it was agreed that the point ſhould be decided by duel. An equal number of combatants were accordingly choſen on both ſides; and the ſuit was determined in favour of the grandſon, his champions being victorious [4]. The law is now univerſal. This mode of trial ſoon became general over Europe; and under the following reign a diet ordered, that doubtful cauſes ſhould no more be decided by oath, but by the ſword [5]. The baſe at leaſt were, by that means, deprived of the advantages which they might have reaped from perjury. D. A. 940.

IN order to counterbalance the power of the nobility, Otho augmented the privileges of the German clergy: he conferred on them duchies and counties, with all the rights of other princes and nobles [6]; and, like Charlemagne, the founder of that empire, whoſe luſtre he reſtored, he propagated Chriſtianity by force of arms. He obliged the Danes to pay him tribute, and receive baptiſm, as an earneſt of their good behaviour [7]. The Bohemians, as I have already obſerved, were alſo ſubjected to the ſame conditions. A. D. 943. A. D. 948. A. D. 951.

NO ſooner did Otho find himſelf in quiet poſſeſſion of the North, than the South attracted his eye; and a

LET. XIII. favourable opportunity now offered of gratifying his ambition without injury to his humanity. Italy was torn by factions, and ruled by tyrants. Rodolph II. king of the two Burgundies, Transjuran and Cisjuran, had dethroned Berengarius, and been himſelf dethroned by Hugh, marquis of Provence, whoſe ſon Lothario was alſo dethroned by Berengarius II. This Berengarius kept Adelaida, the widow of Lothario, in confinement. She invited Otho to her relief. He entered Italy at the head of a powerful army; de-
D. D. 952. livered Adelaida; married her; and obliged Berengarius to take an oath of fealty, generouſly leaving him in poſſeſſion of the kingdom [8].

THE pleaſure which Otho muſt have received from the conqueſt of Italy, was balanced by the revolt of his ſon Ludolphus; who, though already declared ſucceſſor to the empire, was ſo much chagrined at his father's ſecond marriage, that he engaged in a rebellion with the duke of Franconia, and other German noblemen. Purſued by the vigilance of the emperor, the prince took refuge in Ratiſbon, and was ſoon reduced to extremity; but, at the interceſſion of his friends,
A. D. 955. he was permitted to retire with his followers. He again rebelled: but returning, ſoon after, to a ſenſe of his duty, he took an opportunity, when his father was hunting, to throw himſelf at his feet, and implore forgiveneſs in the moſt humiliating language. "Have pity," ſaid he, (after a pathetic pauſe) "on "your child, who returns, like the prodigal ſon, to "his father. If you permit him to live, who has ſo "often deſerved to die, he will be faithful and obe-"dient for the future, and have time to repent of his "folly and ingratitude." The emperor, equally ſurprized and affected at this moving ſpectacle, raiſed his ſon from the ground, while the tears trickled from his eyes,

eyes, received him into favour, and forgave all his followers [9]. LET. XIII.

THIS young prince afterwards died in Italy, whither he had been ſent by his father, to humble the ungrateful Berengarius, who had broke his faith with the emperor, and tyrannized over his countrymen. The untimely death of Ludolphus, which greatly affected Otho, gave Berengarius time to breathe. He was ſoon abſolute maſter of the ancient kingdom of Lombardy, but not of Rome, which was then governed by Octavianus Sporco, grandſon of the celebrated Marozia, concubine of Sergius III. By the great intereſt of his family, he had been elected pope at the age of eighteen, when he was not even in orders. He took the name of John XII. out of reſpect to the memory of his uncle, John XI. and was the firſt pope who changed his name on his acceſſion to the pontificate [10]. A. D. 959.

THIS John XII. was a patrician, or nobleman of Rome, and conſequently united in the papal chair the privileges of both temporal and ſpiritual authority, by a right whoſe legality could not be diſputed: but he was young, ſunk in debauchery, and unable to oppoſe the tyranny of Berengarius and his ſon Adelbert; he therefore conjured Otho "by the love of God, and "of the holy apoſtles, to come and deliver the Roman "church from the fangs of two monſters." This flattering invitation was accompanied with an offer of the papal ſanction to the imperial crown, and of the kingdom of Lombardy, from the Italian ſtates [11]. A. D. 960.

IN compliance with the requeſt of the pope, not leſs than with his own wiſhes, the emperor aſſembled a powerful army, and marched into Italy, after having convoked a diet at Worms, where his ſon Otho, by A. D. 561.

LET. XIII. Adelaida, was elected his ſucceſſor; a neceſſary precaution in thoſe troubleſome times for ſecuring the crown in a family. Berengarius fled before him: he entered Pavia without oppoſition, and was crowned king of Lombardy at Milan, by the archbiſhop of that city, in preſence of the nobility and clergy, who had formally depoſed Berengarius. Rome alſo opened its
A. D. 962. gates to Otho; and the pope crowned him emperor of the Romans, dignified him with the title of Auguſtus, and ſwore allegiance to him on the tomb where the body of St. Peter is ſaid to be depoſited [12]. The emperor at the ſame time confirmed to the Apoſtolic See the donations made by Pepin and Charlemagne, "Saving in "all things," ſays he, "our authority, and that "of our ſon and deſcendants [13];" by which it appears, that in this grant Otho reſerved to the empire the ſupreme juriſdiction over the papal territories.

OTHO next marched in purſuit of Berengarius, whom he ſeized, and condemned to perpetual impriſonment. Meanwhile the pope, finding that he had given himſelf a maſter in a protector, repented of what he had done; broke his oath to the emperor, and entered into a league with Adelbert, the ſon of Berengarius, tho' formerly his moſt implacable enemy. Otho ſuddenly returned to Rome; Adelbert fled; and a council depoſed John XII. for his debaucheries, as was pretended, but in reality for revolting againſt the emperor, though his licentiouſneſs was ſufficiently enormous to render him unworthy of any civil or eccleſiaſtical dignity. Leo VIII. a layman, but a man of virtue, was elected his ſucceſſor; and the clergy and citizens of Rome took anew the oath of allegiance
A. D. 963. to Otho, and bound themſelves neither to elect nor conſecrate a pope without the conſent of the emperor [14].

BUT

LET. XIII.

BUT Otho having occaſion to quell ſome diſturbances in Spoleto, a faction reinſtated John XII. a new council depoſed Leo, and a canon was enacted, declaring "that no inferior can degrade a ſuperior[15];" by which was meant to be intimated, not only that the biſhops and cardinals could never depoſe the pope, but that the emperor, as a layman, owed to the church that very allegiance which he exacted from her. A. D. 964.

SOON after this revolution, pope John was aſſaſſinated in the arms of one of his miſtreſſes; but his party ſtill refuſed to acknowledge Leo, and proceeded to the election of Benedict V. who was accordingly promoted to the chair of St. Peter. Informed of theſe audacious and faithleſs proceedings, Otho marched back to Rome, which he reduced, and reſtored Leo VIII. to his dignity. Benedict appeared before a council; owned himſelf guilty of uſurpation; ſtript himſelf of the pontifical robes; implored compaſſion; and was baniſhed to Hamburgh. Leo VIII. with all the clergy and Roman people, made at the ſame time a celebrated decree, which was conſidered as a fundamental law of the empire; viz. "That Otho, and his ſucceſſors in "the kingdom of Italy, ſhould always have the power "of chuſing a ſucceſſor, of naming the pope, and of "giving inveſtiture to biſhops[16]." A. D. 964.

The affairs of Italy being thus ſettled, Otho returned to Germany; where he was ſcarce arrived, when the Italians again revolted, and expelled John XIII. who had been elected in preſence of the imperial commiſſioners, after the death of Leo VIII. Enraged at ſo many inſtances of perfidy, Otho once more entered Italy, and marched to Rome, which he treated with a ſeverity ſomewhat bordering on revenge, but juſtly merited. He baniſhed the conſuls, hanged the tribunes, and cauſed the preſect of Rome, who aimed A. D. 965.

LET. XIII. A. D. 966. aimed at the character of a ſecond Brutus, be whipt naked thro' the ſtreets on an aſs [17]. Theſe antient dignities ſubſiſted only in name, and the people were deſtitute of every virtue: they had repeatedly broken their faith to the prince, whoſe protection they had craved, and to whom they had ſworn allegiance; an attempt therefore to reſtore the republic, which had at one time been conſidered as the height of patriotiſm, was now deſervedly puniſhed as a ſeditious revolt—though a perſon of no leſs eminence than Voltaire ſeems to conſider both in the ſame light.

AFTER re-eſtabliſhing the pope, and regulating the police of Rome, Otho retired to Capua,
A. D. 967. where he received ambaſſadors from Nicephorus, the Greek emperor, who wanted to renew the old alliance between the Eaſtern and Weſtern empires, and alſo propoſed a marriage between his daughter Theophania and Otho's ſon, lately aſſociated with his father in the ſupreme power. During the courſe of this negociation, however, the Greek grew jealous of the German, and procured the nobles to be aſſaſſinated, who came to receive the princeſs. Incenſed at ſo enormous a perfidy, Otho ordered his generals to enter Calabria, where
A. D. 968. they defeated the Greek army, cut off the noſes of their priſoners, and ſent them in that condition to Conſtantinople [18].

BUT peace was ſoon after eſtabliſhed between the two empires. Nicephorus being put to death by his ſubjects, John Zimiſces, his ſucceſſor, ſent the princeſs Theophania into Italy, where her marriage with
A. C. 970. young Otho was conſummated, and all differences happily accommodated [19]. The emperor returned to Germany, covered with glory and ſucceſs, and lived to enjoy the fruits of his victories two years in his native Saxony. He died in 973, after a reign of thirty-ſix years;

years; during which, by his generoſity and courage, he had juſtly acquired the appellation of Otho the Great, the Conqueror of Italy, and the Reſtorer of the Empire of Charlemagne. LET. XIII.

OTHO II. ſurnamed the Sanguinary, on account of the blood ſpilt under his reign, ſucceeded his father at the age of eighteen. His youth occaſioned troubles, which his valour diſſipated. Henry, duke of Bavaria, and ſeveral other noblemen rebelled, but were all reduced in a ſhort time. Denmark and Bohemia felt his power, and Rome, by new crimes, offered a theatre for his juſtice. The conſul Creſcentius, or Cincius, ſon of the abandoned Theodora, who had been concubine to pope John X. revived the project of reſtoring the republic, and cauſed Benedict VI. who adhered to the emperor, to be murdered in priſon. His faction elected Boniface VII. another faction elected Benedict VII. and a third, John XIV. who was put to death by Boniface [20]. A. D. 974.

THESE horrors ſucceeded one another ſo rapidly that chronologers have not been able to aſcertain the dates, nor hiſtorians accurately to ſettle the names of the pontiffs. The pope of one party was the antipope of another. But Benedict VII. and the imperial party at laſt prevailing, Boniface went in perſon to Conſtantinople, and implored the Greek emperors, Baſil and Conſtantine, to come and reſtore the throne of the Cæſars in Italy, and deliver the Romans from the German yoke [21].

THIS circumſtance, my dear Boy, merits your attention. The popes, in order to increaſe their power, had formerly renounced their allegiance to the Greeks, and called in the Franks: they afterwards had recourſe to the Germans, who confirmed the privileges granted them by the French, and now they ſeemed ready

to

LET. XIII. to receive their ancient maſters, or rather to acknowledge no maſter at all; and hence they have been accuſed of boundleſs ambition. But in all this I can ſee no foundation for ſuch a charge. It is natural for man to deſire ſway, and to ſeek to increaſe it: when the popes were become temporal princes, they would conſequently ſeek to ſecure and extend their dominion. If they had acted otherwiſe, they would not have been men. I am much more offended at that dominion of blind belief, which they endeavoured to extend over the human mind. The one was a generous, the other an ignoble ambition; the firſt made only a few men change their ſovereign, the latter ſubjected millions to a debaſing ſuperſtition, and was neceſſarily accompanied with hypocriſy and fraud.

I HAVE already mentioned, in the hiſtory of France, the diſpute about Lorrain, which Otho II. politically divided with Lotharic's brother Charles, on condition that the French prince ſhould do homage for it after the cuſtom of thoſe times, with bended knee, and cloſed hands. That war being finiſhed, and the affairs of Germany ſettled, Otho marched into Italy,
A. D. 981. entered Rome without oppoſition, and ſeverely chaſtiſed the rebels; but attempting to deprive the Greeks of Calabria, his army was cut in pieces by the Saracens, whom the Greeks had called to their aſſiſtance[22]. He died ſoon after at Rome, while he was preparing to take revenge on the enemy.

A. D. 983. OTHO III. already elected emperor, ſucceeded his father at twelve years of age; and his uncle and his mother diſputing the adminiſtration, Germany was diſquieted by a turbulent regency, while Rome became a prey to new factions, and the ſcene of new crimes. Creſcentius blew again the trumpet of liberty, and per-

perſuaded the Romans they were ſtill free, that he might have it in his power to enſlave them. LET. XIII.

BUT when the emperor, who proved a brave and enterpriſing prince, came of age, all things were ſoon reduced into order. He defeated the Danes, who had A. D. 989. invaded the empire, and entered into a league with Eric, king of Sweden, Denmark, and Norway, on condition that German miſſionaries ſhould be allowed to preach the goſpel in his dominions[23]; a great conceſſion in thoſe times, and highly mortifying to the worſhippers of Odin.

THE affairs of the North being ſettled, Otho marched into Italy at the interceſſion of John XV. A. D. 996. who was perſecuted by Creſcentius. Alarmed at the name of Otho, which had ſo often proved fatal to their confederates, the rebels returned to their duty, and Creſcentius was pardoned: but ſcarce had the emperor left Rome, when that licentious ſpirit again revolted, expelled Gregory V. the ſucceſſor of John XV. and elevated to the papal chair a creature of his own, under the name of John XVI. Enraged at this freſh inſult, Otho returned with a powerful army to Rome, A. D. 998. which he took by aſſault; ordered Creſcentius to be beheaded, and the antipope to be thrown from the top of the caſtle of St. Angelo, after his eyes had been put out, and his noſe cut off[24].

HAVING thus puniſhed the rebels, reſtored Gregory, and received anew the allegiance of the citizens of Rome, Otho returned to Germany, whence he proceeded to Poland, which he erected into a kingdom A. D. 1000. at the ſolicitation of duke Boleſlaus, who did him homage, and agreed to hold his dominions as a fief of the empire[25].

BUT

LET. XIII. BUT the Saracens about this time making an irruption into the Campania of Rome, the emperor was again obliged to march into Italy. He expelled the ravagers, and repaired with a ſmall body of troops to
A.D. 1001. Rome, where his life was endangered by a conſpiracy; and, while he was aſſembling forces to puniſh the rebels, he is ſaid to have been poiſoned by a pair of gloves ſent him by the widow of Creſcentius, whom he had debauched under a promiſe of marriage [26].

THE empire ſuſtained a great loſs in the death of this prince, who was equally brave, reſolute, and juſt; and by a glorious reign of eighteen years, changed the ſurname of Infant, which had been given him at his acceſſion, into that of the Wonder of the World.

As Otho III. died without children, a number of competitors ſtarted up for the empire, three of whom were ſuppoſed alike qualified to wear the imperial crown; Henry duke of Bavaria, Herman duke of Suabia, and Ekkard marquis of Saxony: but the duke of Bavaria being grandſon to Otho II. by the female line, was elected in conſequence of his ſuperior power, and con-
A.D. 1003. firmed and conſecrated under the name of Henry II.

THE new emperor had no ſooner ſettled the affairs of Germany, and diſconcerted an aſſociation formed againſt him by the king of Poland, than he found it neceſſary to march into Italy, where Ardouin, marquis of Ivrea, had aſſumed the ſovereignty. Ardouin retired at the approach of Henry, who was crowned
A.D. 1005. king of Lombardy at Pavia, by the archbiſhop of Milan; but the marquis having ſome partizans in that city, they inflamed the populace to ſuch a degree, that the emperor was in danger of being ſacrificed to their fury. The tumult was at laſt quelled by the imperial troops: thoſe within the city defended the palace,

palace, while detachments from the camp ſcaled the walls, and committed terrible ſlaughter in the ſtreets, till Henry ordered them to deſiſt, and retired to the fortreſs of St. Peter. Thither the principal citizens repaired in a body; implored the emperor's clemency; proteſted their loyalty, and laid the blame of the ſedition on the partizans of Ardouin, who had practiſed on the ignorance of the vulgar. Henry generouſly admitted their apology: "Mercy," ſaid he, "is my "favourite virtue; and I would much rather find your "obedience the reſult of affection, than the conſe-"quence of fear [27]." LET. XIII.

THE troubles of Germany obliged the emperor to leave Italy, without viſiting Rome: but theſe being quelled, and the king of Poland, who had revolted, reduced to obedience, Henry returned with his wife Cunegunda, and was crowned in St. Peter's by Benedict VIII. He at the ſame time defeated Ardouin, who had re-aſſumed the royal authority in his abſence, and quieted the diſorders of Lombardy. A.D. 1014.

CLOYED with ſucceſs, ſick of human greatneſs, or of the toils of empire, and charmed with the tranquility of a monaſtic life, Henry had for ſome time expreſſed a deſire of retiring from the world, and now actually took the religious habit. But the abbot of St. Vall, when he received the emperor as a brother, wiſely impoſed the following command on him: "Monks owe obedience to their ſuperior," ſaid he; "I order you to continue at the helm of government [8]."

IN conſequence of this injunction, Henry conſented to wear the crown, and increaſed in proſperity to the hour of his death. Yet he ſeems to have been a prince of a weak mind; for beſides his monaſtic whim, it appears that he had made a vow of chaſtity: and, A.D. 1024.

when

LET. XIII. when he felt his end approaching, he ſent for the parents of his wife Cunegunda, and ſaid, "You gave "her to me a virgin, and I reſtore her a virgin[29]!" Can a reſtraint on the natural inclinations be a virtue, where their indulgence does not interfere with the welfare of ſociety? Do not think ſo. Such a declaration from a huſband is enough to make one credit the accuſations of adultery laid againſt Cunegunda, though ſhe is ſaid to have proved her innocence by handling red-hot iron[30].

LETTER

LETTER XIV.

ENGLAND *from the Death of* ALFRED, *to the Reign of* CANUTE *the* GREAT.

ENGLAND, my dear Boy, from the reign of Alfred to the Daniſh conqueſt, affords few objects to arreſt the attention of the ſcholar, the gentleman, or the politician. Little progreſs was made in letters or politeneſs, and the conſtitution continued nearly the ſame. A conciſe account of the principal reigns will therefore be ſufficient for your purpoſe; more eſpecially as England, during this period, had little connection with the affairs of the continent. LET. XIV.

ALFRED was ſucceeded by his ſon Edward the Elder, being the firſt of that name who ſat on the Engliſh throne. Though inferior to his father in genius and erudition, he equalled him in military talents; and he had occaſion for them. Ethelwald his couſin-german, ſon to king Ethelbert, Alfred's elder brother, diſputed the crown, and called in the Danes to ſupport his claim. The death of Ethelwald, who fell in a battle with the Kentiſh men[1], decided the quarrel; but Edward's wars with the Danes continued during the greater part of his reign, though he was ſucceſsful in almoſt every engagement. He died in 925. A. D. 901. A. D. 910.

ATHELSTAN, Edward's natural ſon, obtained the kingdom, in preference to his legitimate children, as he was of an age more fitted for government, and the nation, expoſed to foreign and domeſtic wars, re- A. D. 925.

Let. XIV. quired a prince of abilities: the ſtain in his birth was therefore overlooked.

No ſooner was Athelſtan ſecurely ſeated on the throne, than he endeavoured to give it ſtability by providing againſt the inſurrections of the domeſtic Danes. With this view he marched into Northumberland, their moſt conſiderable ſettlement; and finding that they bore with impatience the Engliſh yoke, he judged it prudent to confer on Sitheric, a Daniſh nobleman, the title of king, and to give him his ſiſter Editha in marriage, as a further motive of attachment. But this policy, however wiſe in itſelf, proved the ſource of very dangerous conſequences.

Sitheric died within a twelvemonth; and his two ſons, by a former marriage, Anlaf and Godfrid, founding pretenſions on their father's elevation, aſſumed the ſovereignty, without waiting for the approbation of Athelſtan: but they were ſoon expelled by this powerful monarch, who was not leſs brave than politic. The former took ſhelter in Ireland, the latter in Scotland; where he was protected for ſome time, by the clemency of Conſtantine, who then poſſeſſed the Scottiſh crown. Continually ſolicited however, and even menaced by the Engliſh monarch, Conſtantine at laſt promiſed to deliver up his gueſt; but ſecretly deteſting ſuch treachery, he gave Godfrid a hint to make his eſcape. Incenſed at Conſtantine's behaviour, though the death of the fugitive had freed him from all apprehenſions, Athelſtan entered Scotland with a numerous army, and reduced the Scots to ſuch diſtreſs, that their king was happy to preſerve his crown by the moſt humble ſubmiſſions [2].

Athelstan afterwards defeated the Scots, Welſh, and Danes, in a general engagement, at Brunſbury, in

in Northumberland; in consequence of which he enjoyed tranquility during the rest of his reign. He appears to have been one of the most able and active of our ancient princes; and his memorable law for the encouragement of commerce, discovers a liberality of mind worthy of the most enlightened ages, viz. That a merchant, who had made two voyages, on his own account, to distant lands, should be admitted to the rank of a thane, or gentleman [3]. LET XIV.

ATHELSTAN was succeeded by his brother Edmund; who, on his accession, met with some disturbance from the Northumbrians, whom he reduced to obedience. He also conquered Cumberland from the Britons, and conferred that principality on Malcolm, king of Scotland, on condition that he should do homage to England for it, and protect the North from all future incursions of the Danes [4]. A D. 941.

EDMUND's reign was very short, and his death violent. As he was solemnizing a feast in Gloucestershire, a notorious robber named Leolf, whom he had sentenced to banishment, audaciously entered the hall where the king dined, and seated himself at one of the tables. Enraged at such insolence, Edmund ordered him to be seized; but observing that the ruffian was preparing to resist, the indignant monarch sprung up, and catching him by the hair, dragged him out of the hall. Mean while Leolf having drawn his dagger, lifted his arm with a furious blow, and stabbed the king to the heart, who immediately expired on the bosom of his murderer [5].

EDMUND left male issue; but as they were too young to govern the kingdom, his brother Edred was exalted to the throne. The beginning of Edred's reign, like those of his predecessors, was disturbed by the rebellion A. D. 945.

LET. XIV. bellion of the Northumbrian Danes. Though frequently quelled, they were never entirely ſubdued, nor had they ever paid a ſincere allegiance to the Engliſh crown. Their obedience laſted no longer than the preſent terror. Edred, inſtructed by experience, took every precaution to prevent their future inſurrections. He ſettled Engliſh garriſons in their moſt conſiderable towns, and placed over them an Engliſh governor, to watch their motions, and check the firſt appearance of revolt. He alſo obliged Malcolm, king of Scotland, to renew his homage for Cumberland [6].

BUT Edred, though a brave and active prince, lay under the influence of the loweſt ſuperſtition, and had blindly delivered over his conſcience to the guidance of Dunſtan, abbot of Glaſtonbury, commonly called St. Dunſtan, whom he advanced to the higheſt offices, and who concealed beneath an appearance of ſanctity the moſt violent and inſolent ambition. In order to impoſe on the credulity of mankind, this monk had ſecluded himſelf from the world in a miſerable cell, where he is ſaid to have had frequent conflicts with the devil; till one day, when the infernal ſpirit attempted to ſeduce him in the ſhape of a fine woman, Dunſtan ſeized him by the noſe with a pair of red-hot pincers, and held him till the whole neighbourhood reſounded with his bellowings [7]. Satan, thus vanquiſhed, durſt never more ſhew his face. This ſtory, and others of a like nature, which were then ſeriouſly believed, obtained the abbot a reputation, both with prince and people, which no real piety or virtue, even in the moſt enlightened times, could ever have procured him. He was placed by Edred at the head of the treaſury, ſoon after his return from ſolitude; and, ſenſible that he owed his advancement to the opinion of his auſterity, he profeſſed himſelf a friend to the rigid monaſtic rules, which about this time

time began to prevail, and by which monks were excluded from all commerce with the world and with women. He introduced them into the convents of Glaſtonbury and Abingdon, and endeavoured to render them univerſal in the kingdom [8]. LET. XIV.

A WORD here of the monaſtic life.

THERE had been monaſteries in England from the firſt introduction of Chriſtianity among the Saxons, and theſe eſtabliſhments had been greatly multiplied by the miſtaken piety of the princes and nobles, who ſought to bribe Heaven by donations to the church; but the monks had hitherto been a ſpecies of ſecular prieſts, who were at liberty either to marry or continue ſingle; who lived after the manner of the preſent canons or prebendaries, and were both intermingled with the world, in ſome degree, and endeavoured to render themſelves uſeful to it. A ſuperſtitious devotion, however, had produced in Italy a new ſpecies of monks, who ſecluded themſelves entirely from the world, renounced all claim to liberty, and made a merit of the moſt inviolable chaſtity. Dunſtan laid hold of this circumſtance to commence reformer. The pope had favoured the doctrine from motives of general policy, as detaching the eccleſiaſtical from the civil power; the abbot embraced it for his own aggrandiſement: celibacy was therefore extolled as the univerſal duty of prieſts; and, in England, the minds of men were already prepared for ſuch an innovation, though it combatted the ſtrongeſt propenſities in human nature.

THE firſt preachers of Chriſtianity among the Saxons had carried to the moſt extravagant height the praiſe of inviolable chaſtity; the pleaſures of love had been repreſented as incompatible with Chriſtian perfection;

Let. XIV. fection; and an abſtinence from all commerce with the ſex, aſſuredly the higheſt act of ſelf-denial, was deemed a ſufficient atonement for the blackeſt enormities. The conſequence naturally followed, that thoſe who officiated at the altar ſhould at leaſt be free from this pollution; and Dunſtan and his reformed monks knew well how to avail themſelves of theſe popular topics, and ſet off their own character to the beſt advantage. On the other hand, their rivals, the ſecular clergy, who were numerous and rich, and poſſeſſed of the eccleſiaſtical dignities, defended themſelves with vigour, and maintained the ſanctity of marriage[9]. The whole nation was thrown into a ferment.

A. D. 955. In the mean time, the power of the monks received a check by the death of Edred, the dupe of their ambition. He left children, but in an infant ſtate; the crown was therefore conferred on Edwy, his nephew, ſon to Edmund, his brother and predeceſſor[10].

This prince, who was only ſeventeen years of age at the time of his acceſſion, poſſeſſed an elegant perſon, and the moſt amiable and promiſing virtues. But neither the graces of his body, nor the accompliſhments of his mind, could ſcreen him from the fury of the monks, whom he unhappily offended in the beginning of his reign. The beautiful Elgiva, his ſecond or third couſin, had made an impreſſion on the ſuſceptible heart of Edwy: and, as he was at an age when the tender paſſions are moſt keenly felt, he ventured to marry her, though within the degrees of affinity prohibited by the church. The auſterity of the monks made them particularly violent on this occaſion: the king therefore entertained a ſtrong averſion againſt them, and determined to oppoſe their project of expelling the ſeculars from the convents. But he had ſoon reaſon to repent his raſhneſs, in provoking ſuch

ſuch dangerous enemies. On the day of his coronation, while the nobility, aſſembled in the great hall, were indulging themſelves in riot and diſorder, after the example of their German anceſtors, Edwy, attracted by the ſofter pleaſures of love, retired to the queen's apartment, and gave looſe to his fondneſs, which was but feebly checked by the preſence of her mother. Dunſtan conjectured the reaſon of the king's retreat; and carrying along with him Odo, archbiſhop of Canterbury, over whom he had gained an entire aſcendant, he burſt into the royal privacy, upbraided Edwy of laſciviouſneſs, tore him from the arms of his conſort, and puſhed him back ignominiouſly into the company of the nobles, loading the queen with the moſt opprobrious epithets [11].

THOUGH Edwy was young, and had the prejudices of the people to encounter, he found means to revenge this public inſult. He accuſed Dunſtan of malverſation in office, while at the head of the treaſury; and as that miniſter did not clear himſelf of the charge, the king baniſhed him the realm. But Dunſtan's cabal were not idle during his abſence: they poiſoned the minds of men to ſuch a degree by declamations againſt the king, and panegyrics on the abbot's ſanctity, that the royal authority was deſpiſed, and ſtill more outrageouſly inſulted. Archbiſhop Odo ordered the queen to be ſeized; and after her face had been ſeared with a red-hot iron, in order to deſtroy that fatal beauty which had enſnared the king, ſhe was carried into Ireland, there to remain in perpetual exile [12].

EDWY finding reſiſtance vain, was obliged to conſent to a divorce, which was pronounced by the imperious Odo. But theſe were not the only evils which attended this unfortunate prince and his conſort.

LET. XIV. The amiable Elgiva was made priſoner by her enemies, and cruelly murdered in returning to the embraces of the king, whom ſhe ſtill conſidered as her huſband. Nothing leſs than her death could ſatisfy the archbiſhop and the monks. Edwy was dethroned by the ſame influence, to make room for his brother Edgar, a boy of thirteen years of age. Dunſtan returned to England, and took upon him the government of the young king and his party. He was firſt inſtalled in the ſee of Worceſter, next in that of London, and afterwards in that of Canterbury; all which he long kept poſſeſſion of. In the mean time the unhappy Edwy was excommunicated, and purſued with unrelenting vengeance [13]; but his death ſoon freed his enemies from inquietude, and left Edgar in peaceable poſſeſſion of the throne.

A. D. 959.

THE reign of Edgar is one of the moſt fortunate in the Engliſh hiſtory. Though he mounted the throne in ſuch early youth, he ſoon diſcovered an excellent capacity for government: he ſhewed no averſion to war; he took the wiſeſt precautions for public ſafety; and by his vigilance and foreſight, he was enabled to indulge his natural inclination for peace. He maintained a body of troops in the North, to keep the mutinous Northumbrians in awe, and to repel the inroads of the Scots. He alſo built and ſupported a powerful navy; and, in order to habituate the ſeamen to the practice of their duty, as well as to intimidate his enemies, he ſtationed three ſquadrons off the coaſt, and commanded them to make by turns the circuit of his dominions. The foreign Danes durſt not approach a country which appeared ſo ſtrongly defended: the domeſtic Danes ſaw deſtruction to be the inevitable conſequence of inſurrection; and the princes of Wales, of Scotland, and even of Ireland, were

were happy to appeaſe ſo potent a monarch by ſubmiſſions [14]. LET. XIV.

BUT the means by which Edgar more particularly maintained his authority at home, and preſerved public tranquility, was paying court to Dunſtan and the monks, who had at firſt placed him on the throne, and whoſe claim to ſuperior ſanctity gave them an aſcendant over the people. He favoured their ſcheme of reformation, as it was called, but in reality of diſpoſſeſſing the ſecular canons of the monaſteries; he conſulted them in the adminiſtration of all eccleſiaſtical, and even of many civil affairs; and though the vigour of his genius prevented him from being entirely guided by them, he took care never to diſoblige them. Hence he is repreſented by the monkiſh writers not only under the character of a warrior and a politician, praiſes which he ſeems to have merited, but under that of a ſaint and a man of virtue, though he was licentious to the higheſt degree, and violated every law human and divine. His very amours are a compound of barbarity and brutality. He broke into a convent, carried off a nun by force, and even committed violence on her perſon [15]. Struck alſo with the charms of a nobleman's daughter, in whoſe houſe he had been entertained, he demanded that ſhe ſhould paſs that very night with him, without once conſulting the young lady's inclinations. But his moſt remarkable amour was with the beautiful Elfrida; and, as it is connected with the hiſtory of the following reign, I ſhall relate it more circumſtantially. It will at once give you an idea of the manners of the age, and of the character of Edgar.

ELFRIDA, the only daughter and ſole heir of Olgar, earl of Devonſhire, though educated in the country, and a ſtranger at court, had filled all Eng-

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land with the reputation of her beauty. Edgar, who was never indifferent to any report of this kind, ſent Athelwold, his favourite, to ſee if the young lady was indeed as fair as fame had reported her. Athelwold no ſooner ſaw Elfrida than he was inflamed with love, and determined to ſacrifice to it his fidelity to his maſter: he therefore told Edgar, on his return, that the fortune and quality of Elfrida alone had been the cauſe of the admiration paid her; and that her charms, ſo far from being extraordinary, would have been entirely over-looked in a woman of inferior condition. "But," added he, when he found he had blunted the edge of the king's curioſity, "though ſhe "has nothing to claim the attention of a monarch, "her immenſe wealth would, to a needy ſubject, be "a ſufficient compenſation for the homelineſs of her "perſon; and, though it could never produce on me "the illuſion of beauty, it might make her a conve-"nient wife."

Edgar, glad of an opportunity of eſtabliſhing his favourite's fortune, not only gave his approbation to the projected match, but forwarded its ſucceſs by recommendations to the earl of Devonſhire; and Athelwold was ſoon made happy in the poſſeſſion of his beloved Elfrida. Dreading, however, the eyes of the king, he ſtill found ſome pretence for detaining his wife in the country; but all his precautions were inſufficient to conceal his amorous treachery. Royal favourites are never without enemies: Edgar was ſoon informed of the truth: but before he would execute vengeance on Athelwold's perfidy, he reſolved to ſatisfy himſelf with regard to Elfrida's beauty. He therefore told his favourite, that he intended to pay him a viſit at his caſtle, and be introduced to his wife, whoſe beauty he had formerly heard ſo much praiſed. Athelwold was thunderſtruck at the propoſal; but,

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as he could not refuſe ſuch an honour, he only begged leave to go a few hours before his royal gueſt, that he might make proper preparations for his reception. On his arrival, he fell at his wife's feet, diſcovered the whole matter, and conjured her, if ſhe valued either her own honour, or his life, to diſguiſe as much as poſſible that fatal beauty which had tempted him to deceive his prince and friend. Elfrida promiſed compliance, though nothing appears to have been farther from her intentions. She adorned her perſon with the moſt exquiſite art, and called forth all her charms, not deſpairing yet to reach that ſtation of which Athelwold's fondneſs had deprived her. The event was anſwerable to her expectations: ſhe excited at once in Edgar's boſom the warmeſt love, and the keeneſt deſire of revenge. The king, however, who could diſſemble theſe paſſions, as well as feel them, beheld her with ſeeming indifference; and ſeducing Athelwold into a wood, under pretence of hunting, he ſtabbed him with his own hand, took Elfrida to court, and ſoon after publickly married her [16].

THIS reign is remarkable for the extirpation of wolves from England. Edgar took great pains in purſuing thoſe ravenous animals; and when he found they had all taken ſhelter in the mountains and foreſts of Wales, he changed the tribute of money impoſed on the Welſh princes by Athelſtan, into an annual tribute of three hundred heads of wolves [17]; which occaſioned ſuch diligence in hunting them, that they were ſoon extirpated the iſland.

EDGAR was ſucceeded by his ſon Edward, commonly called the Martyr, whom he had by his firſt wife, the daughter of earl Ordmer. A. D. 975.

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THE ſucceſſion of Edward did not take place without much oppoſition. Elfrida, his ſtep-mother, had a ſon named Ethelred, only ſeven years old, whom ſhe attempted to raiſe to the throne: but the principal nobility, dreading her imperious temper, oppoſed a meaſure which muſt increaſe her authority, if not put her in poſſeſſion of the regency; and Dunſtan, to whom it was of great importance to have a king favourable to his cauſe, reſolutely crowned and anointed Edward, over whom he had already gained an entire aſcendant. His ſhort reign was remarkable for nothing but a continual ſtruggle between the monks and the ſecular clergy. He was treacherouſly mur-
A. D. 978. dered by order of Elfrida, to make room for her ſon Ethelred [18].

SOON after the acceſſion of Ethelred, a prince without courage or capacity, England was viſited anew by the Danes. The wiſe regulations of Alfred, and the valour of his immediate ſucceſſors, had long deterred theſe ravagers from approaching the Britiſh ſhores; and their ſettlement in France had required, for a time, moſt of their ſuperfluous hands: but a new race of men being now ſprung up in the northern regions, who could no longer diſburden themſelves on Normandy, and England being no longer governed by an Alfred or an Edgar, they ventured to renew their depredations. Ethelred, inſtead of rouſing his people to defend with courage their prince and their property, meanly compounded with the enemy
A. D. 991. for his ſafety, by bribing them to depart the kingdom [19].

THIS ſhameful expedient, which invited aſſailants inſtead of repelling them, was attended with the ſucceſs that might be expected; the Danes again returned, and were again bribed to depart. In the mean

mean time Ethelred, from a policy incident to weak princes, embraced the cruel reſolution of maſſacring the Danes throughout all his dominions. Secret orders were accordingly given to commence the execution on the ſame day, and all the Danes were deſtroyed without mercy. Even Gunilda, ſiſter to the king of Denmark, who had married earl Paling, and embraced Chriſtianity, was ſeized, and condemned to death by Ethelred, after ſeeing her huſband and children butchered before her face [20]. A.D. 1002.

THIS unhappy princeſs foretold, in the agonies of deſpair, that her murder would ſoon be revenged by the total ruin of the Engliſh nation. Never was prophecy better fulfilled, nor ever did barbarous policy prove more fatal to its projectors. Sweyn, king of Denmark, breathing vengeance for the ſlaughter of his countrymen, landed ſpeedily in the Weſt of England, and deſolated the whole kingdom with fire and ſword. The Engliſh, ſenſible what they had to expect from a barbarous and enraged enemy, attempted ſeveral times to make a ſtand; but they were ſucceſſively betrayed by Alferic and Edric, governors of Mercia. The baſe and imprudent expedient of money was again tried, till the nation was entirely drained, but without effect: the Danes continued their ravages; and Ethelred, equally afraid of the violence of the enemy and the treachery of his own ſubjects, fled over to his brother-in-law, Richard duke of Normandy, who received him with a generoſity which does honour to his memory [21]. A.D. 1003. A.D. 1013.

SWEYN died ſoon after Ethelred left England, and before he had time to eſtabliſh himſelf in his new acquired dominions. Ethelred was recalled; but his miſconduct was incurable. On reſuming the government, he diſcovered the ſame incapacity, indolence, cowardice, A.D. 1014.

LET. XIV. cowardice, and credulity, which had ſo often expoſed him to the inſults of his enemies; and the Engliſh found in Canute, the ſon and ſucceſſor of Sweyn, an enemy no leſs terrible than his father. An army was aſſembled againſt him under the command of Ederic and prince Edmond. Ederic, whom the infatuated king ſtill truſted, continued his perfidious machinations. After endeavouring in vain to get the prince into his power, he found means to diſſipate the army, and then openly revolted to Canute with forty veſſels [22].

A.D. 1015.

NOTWITHSTANDING this misfortune, Edmond, whoſe intrepidity never failed him, collected the whole force of the kingdom, and was ſoon in a condition to give the enemy battle; but the king had ſo often experienced the perfidy of his ſubjects, that he had loſt all confidence in them: he therefore refuſed to take the field, by which means the prince's vigorous meaſures were rendered entirely ineffectual, the army being diſcouraged by the timidity of their ſovereign. As the North had already ſubmitted to Canute's power, Edmond retired to London, determined there to maintain the ſmall remains of Engliſh liberty. In the mean time his father died, after an inglorious reign of thirty-five years.

A.D. 1016.

ETHELRED left two ſons by his firſt marriage: Edmond, who ſucceeded him, and Edwy, whom Canute afterwards murdered. His two ſons by the ſecond marriage, Alfred and Edward, were conveyed into Normandy by queen Emma, immediately after the death of their father.

EDMOND, who received the name of Ironſide from his hardy valour, poſſeſſed courage and abilities ſufficient to have ſaved his country, not only from ſinking into its preſent calamities, but even to have raiſed

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it from that abyſs of miſery into which it was already fallen, had the Engliſh, among their other misfortunes, not been infected with treachery and diſloyalty. But theſe rendered all his ſchemes abortive, and his nobleſt efforts ineffectual. The traitor Ederic pretended to return to his duty; and, as Edmond had no general in whom he could repoſe more confidence, he gave him a conſiderable command in the army. A battle was ſoon after fought at Aſſington in Eſſex. Ederic deſerted to the enemy, in the beginning of the day; and occaſioned the total defeat of the Engliſh, with a great ſlaughter of the nobility

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The indefatigable Edmond, however, had ſtill reſources. He aſſembled a new army at Gloceſter, and was again in a condition to diſpute the field; when the Daniſh and Engliſh nobility, equally tired of the ſtruggle, obliged their kings to come to terms. The kingdom was divided between them by treaty. Canute reſerved to himſelf the northern diviſion of Mercia, Eaſt-Anglia, and Northumberland, which he had entirely ſubdued: the ſouthern parts were left to Edmond, who ſurvived the treaty only a month. He was murdered at Oxford by two of his chamberlains, accomplices of Ederic, whoſe treachery made way for the acceſſion of Canute the Dane to the throne of England [23].

A.D. 1017.

LETTER

LETTER XV.

FRANCE, *from the* ACCESSION *of* HUGH CAPET, *to the* INVASION *of* ENGLAND *by* WILLIAM *Duke of* NORMANDY.

LET. XV.

WHILE England changed its maſters, and Germany its form of government, France alſo had changed its reigning family, and was become, like Germany, a government entirely feudal. Each province had its hereditary counts or dukes. He who could only ſeize upon two or three ſmall villages, paid homage to the uſurper of a province; and he who had only a caſtle, held it of the poſſeſſor of a town. The kingdom was a monſtrous aſſemblage of members, without any compact body.

OF the princes, or nobles, who held immediately of the crown, Hugh Capet was not the leaſt powerful. He poſſeſſed the dukedom of France, which extended as far as Touraine: he was alſo count of Paris; and the vaſt domains which he held in Picardy and Champagne, gave him great authority in thoſe provinces. He therefore ſeized the crown on the death of Lewis V. and brought more ſtrength to it, than he derived from it; for the royal domain was now reduced to the cities of Laon and Soiſſons, with a few other diſputed territories [1].

A. D. 987.

THE right of ſucceſſion belonged to Charles, duke of Lorrain, uncle to Lewis V. but the condition of vaſſal of the empire appeared to the French nobility a ſufficient reaſon for excluding him, and Hugh Capet ſecured

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ſecured the favour of the clergy by reſigning the abbies which had been hereditary in his family. An extreme devotion, real or apparent, recommended him to the people; and particularly, his veneration for reliques. Force and addreſs ſeconded his ambition, and the national averſion to his rival completed its ſucceſs. He was acknowledged in an aſſembly of the nobles; he was anointed at Rheims; and he farther eſtabliſhed his throne, by aſſociating his ſon Robert in the government of the kingdom, and veſting him with thoſe enſigns of royalty, which he prudently denied himſelf, as what might give umbrage to men who were lately his equals [2]. A. D. 988.

CHARLES, in the mean time, entered France; made himſelf maſter of Laon by aſſault, and of Rheims, by the treachery of archbiſhop Arnold, his relation. But this unhappy prince was afterwards himſelf betrayed by the biſhop of Laon, and made priſoner for life [3]. A. D. 989.

A council was aſſembled for the trial of Arnold. He was degraded; and Gerbert, a man of learning and genius, who had been tutor to the emperor Otho III. and to the king's ſon, Robert, was elected into the ſee of Rheims. But the court of Rome not being conſulted in this tranſaction, it was declared void: Arnold was reeſtabliſhed, and Gerbert depoſed. The firſt, however, remained in priſon, till the death of Hugh Capet, who was more afraid of Arnold's intrigues than the thunder of the Vatican [4]; while the ſecond, having found an aſylum in the court of his pupil Otho, became archbiſhop of Ravenna, and afterwards pope, under the name of Sylveſter II.

NOTHING elſe remarkable happened during the reign of Hugh Capet, who conducted all things with

LET. XV. great prudence and moderation; and had the ſingular honour of eſtabliſhing a new family, and in ſome meaſure a new form of government, with few circumſtances of violence, and without ſhedding blood. He A. D. 997. died in the fifty-ſeventh year of his age, and the eighth of his reign, and was quietly ſucceeded by his ſon Robert; a prince of a leſs vigorous, though not of a leſs amiable character.

The moſt remarkable circumſtance in the reign of Robert, and the moſt worthy of your attention, is his excommunication by the pope. This prince had eſpouſed Bertha, his couſin in the fourth degree; a marriage not only lawful according to our preſent ideas of things, and juſtified by the practice of all nations, ancient and modern, but neceſſary to the welfare of the ſtate, ſhe being the ſiſter of Rodolph, king of Burgundy. But the clergy, among their other uſurpations, had about this time made a ſacrament of marriage, and laid the moſt eſſential of civil engagements under ſpiritual prohibitions, which extended even to the ſeventh degree of conſanguinity. The popes politically arrogated to themſelves a ſpecial juriſdiction over this firſt object of ſociety, and that on which all the reſt hang: Gregory V. therefore undertook to diſſolve the marriage between Robert and Bertha, though it had been authoriſed by ſeveral biſhops; and in a council held at Rome, without examining the cauſe, and without hearing the parties, he publiſhed, with the moſt deſpotic authority, an imperious decree, which ordered the king and queen to be ſeparated, under peril of excommunication; and all the biſhops who had countenanced the pretended crime, were ſuſpended from their functions, till ſuch time as they ſhould make ſatisfaction to the Holy See [5].

ROBERT, however, perſiſted in keeping his wife, and

and thereby incurred the ſentence of excommunication; which, according to cardinal Peter Damien, an hiſtorian of thoſe times, had ſuch an effect on the minds of men, that the king was abandoned by all his courtiers, and even by his own domeſtics, two ſervants excepted; and theſe threw to the dogs all the victuals which he left at meals, and purified, by fire, the veſſels in which he had been ſerved: ſo fearful were they of what had been touched by an excommunicated perſon! The ſame credulous author adds, that the queen was brought to-bed of a monſter, which had a neck and head like a gooſe: a certain proof, and puniſhment of inceſt!—But, as Voltaire very juſtly obſerves, there was nothing monſtrous in all this affair, but the inſolence of the pope, and the weakneſs of the king; who giving way to ſuperſtitious terrors, or afraid of civil commotions, at laſt repudiated his wife Bertha, and married Conſtance, daughter to the count of Arles, in whom he found a tyrant, inſtead of an amiable conſort. Gregory alſo obliged him to reſtore the traitor Arnold to the ſee of Rheims[6].

In the mean time, Robert had it in his power to have been maſter of the popes, if he had poſſeſſed the ambition, and the vigour neceſſary for ſuch an enterpriſe. After the death of Henry II. the laſt emperor of the houſe of Saxony, the Italians, ſick of the German dominion, offered their crown, and the imperial dignity, to the king of France. Robert had the reſolution to refuſe it: and not only his own ſubjects, but Europe in general was ſoon convinced that he had acted wiſely; for thoſe who made the propoſal afterwards deſerted the perſon who accepted it[7]. A. D 1013.

The latter years of Robert's reign were rendered very unhappy by the diſorders of his family. Unfortunate in the death of his eldeſt ſon Hugh, whom he had

LET. XV. had aſſociated in the ſovereignty, his queen Conſtance, whoſe haughtineſs was altogether inſupportable, attempted to regulate the ſucceſſion. Having an averſion to her ſon Henry, ſhe wanted to place her younger ſon Robert on the throne; but the king, by the advice of his parliament, confirmed the ſucceſſion to Henry, his eldeſt ſurviving ſon. Provoked at this meaſure, the queen wanted to embroil the brothers[8]: but they, being united by a ſincere friendſhip, withſtood all her irritations; became equally the objects of her hatred; retired from court; and took arms, in order to obtain a ſeparate eſtabliſhment. In the mean
A D. 1116. time the king died, and was ſucceeded by his ſon Henry.

THERE is not any monarch in the French hiſtory more generally, or more highly commended than Robert, notwithſtanding his weakneſs of temper, or on whoſe death the lamentations of all ranks of people were louder or more ſincere. The monks ſpoke the ſenſe of the whole nation, when they deplored him in theſe words: "We have loſt a father, who governed "us in peace: we lived under him in ſecurity; for "he did not oppreſs, or ſuffer oppreſſion: we loved "him, and there was nobody whom he feared[9]."

HENRY I. was twenty-ſeven years of age at his acceſſion to the throne, and with all the ſpirit of a young man, he had the ſagacity and prudence of one more advanced in years; without which, the crown would have been ſhaken from his head, almoſt as ſoon as it was placed there. His mother Conſtance, who hated him, as has been obſerved, and who was ambitious ſtill to govern, had drawn over to her party a great many lords and biſhops, under pretence of ſupporting the cauſe of her younger ſon Robert. The king, therefore, after ſome ineffectual ſtruggles, was obliged to take refuge in Normandy; where he was received

received with all poſſible reſpect by duke Robert, who aſſured him, that the treaſures and the forces of the duchy were at his diſpoſal. Nor were theſe mere expreſſions of civility: an army of Normans entered France on one ſide, while the king and the royal party invaded it on the other. The queen dowager and her faction were humbled, and Henry recovered all that he had loſt. But though this conteſt ended glorioufly for the king, it coſt the crown dear; for as the ſucceſs of the war was principally owing to the duke of Normandy, Henry added to his duchy, Giſors, Chaumont, Pontoiſe, and that part of the Vexin which yet remained to the crown [10]. LET. XV.

The next affair of importance that occupied the king's attention was the ſucceſſion to the duchy of Normandy. Duke Robert had thought fit, in compliance with the faſhionable devotion of thoſe times, to make a pilgrimage to Jeruſalem. But before his departure, as he was a prudent prince, though now old and ſuperſtitious, he aſſembled his nobles; and, informing them of his pious purpoſe, the length of the journey, and the dangers to which he muſt be expoſed, he engaged them to ſwear allegiance to his natural ſon William, whom he tenderly loved, and intended for his ſucceſſor, as he had no legitimate iſſue. He alſo recommended the guardianſhip of his ſon, who was only nine years of age, to two perſons in whom he placed the greateſt confidence; Henry king of France, and Alain duke of Bretagne [11]. But theſe precautions did not prevent many diſorders, which a mind not hoodwinked by ſuperſtition muſt have foreſeen, ariſing from the natural turbulency of the great, the illegitimacy of William, and the claims from other branches of the ducal family.

ROBERT died, as he had apprehended, in his pil-

LET. XV. grimage; and left his ſon rather the heir of his wiſhes than of his dominions. The licentious nobles, freed from the awe of ſovereign authority, broke out into perſonal quarrels, and made the whole country a ſcene of war and devaſtation. Alain duke of Bretagne came to appeaſe their animoſities; but being very roughly treated, he returned home, and was ſoon after carried off by a ſlow poiſon, ſuppoſed to have been given him in Normandy. Various pretenders aroſe to the ſucceſſion; and king Henry, forgetting what he owed to Robert, ſeemed willing to deprive his infant ſon of his inheritance, by taking advantage of theſe troubles. He accordingly invaded the Norman frontier, and reduced ſeveral places; but not finding the conqueſt ſo eaſy as he expected, or influenced by the returning ſentiments of friendſhip and generoſity, he united his forces with thoſe of the young duke, and the
A. D. 1046. malcontents were totally routed in the battle of Val de Dunes, which gave William quiet poſſeſſion of his dominions[12].

Henry died in 1060, and was ſucceeded by his ſon Philip, whom he had by his ſecond wife, and the firſt with whom he cohabited, the daughter of Joradiſlas, duke of Ruſſia; a circumſtance truly remarkable, in an age when the intercourſe between nations was ſo little familiar! But the prohibitions of marriage were ſo multiplied, and the example of his father ſo alarming, that Robert is ſuppoſed to have ſought a wife in this remote country, to avoid the crime of inceſt, and the danger of excommunication. What muſt the diſorders of ſociety have been, when even a king did not know how to marry!

PHILIP I. was only eight years of age at the time
A.D. 1060. of his acceſſion; and, what is very ſingular, inſtead of being put under the guardianſhip of his mother or his

his uncle, whom one might ſuppoſe would naturally have been called to the regency, he was committed by his father to the care of Baldwin V. ſurnamed the Pious, earl of Flanders; a man of ſtrict honour, and brother-in-law to Henry. Baldwin gave his pupil an education ſuitable to his rank: he kept the nobility in awe, without giving them juſt cauſe of offence; and he maintained peace, by being always ready for war. Hiſtory, in a word, ſcarce furniſhes us with an inſtance of a minority more quiet, and none more happy; an example the more remarkable, as the times and circumſtances of it were both delicate. LET. XV

THE only colour that Baldwin gave for cenſure, was in his conduct towards William duke of Normandy, who was preparing to invade England, and whom he permitted to raiſe forces in France and Flanders; which, from the event, was judged impolitic. But the duke being his ſon-in-law, he could not refuſe him with a good grace: and there was yet a farther motive for compliance. The fortunate and enterprifing William might have entered France with that army which he had aſſembled againſt England, where he ſucceeded more ſpeedily, and with more eaſe, than could poſſibly have been expected. But the particulars of that great event, and its conſequences, belong to the hiſtory of our own country. I ſhall therefore only here obſerve, that to balance in ſome meaſure the increaſe of William's power, an offenſive and defenſive alliance was concluded between the crowns of France and Scotland; ſoon after which negociation Baldwin died, and left his pupil, Philip I. in the peaceable poſſeſſion of his kingdom, when he had attained his fifteenth year [13]. A.D. 1066.

BIBLIOTHECA BODLEIANA

LETTER XVI.

ENGLAND, *from the* DANISH, *to the* NORMAN *Conqueſt.*

LET. XVI. YOU have already, my dear Boy, ſeen Edmond Ironſide inhumanly murdered, and England expoſed to the ambition of Canute the Dane; a prince both active and brave, and at the head of a numerous army, ready to take advantage of the minority of Edwin and Edward, the ſons of Edmond. The Engliſh, therefore, could expect nothing but total ſubjection from Canute: but the Daniſh monarch, commonly ſo little ſcrupulous, ſhewed, on this occaſion, an anxiety to conceal his injuſtice under plauſible pretences. Before he ſeized the dominions of the two young princes, he ſummoned a general aſſembly of the ſtates of England, in order to fix the ſucceſſion of the kingdom; and having ſuborned ſome noblemen to depoſe, that in the treaty of Glouceſter it was agreed, that Canute, in caſe of Edmond's deceaſe, ſhould ſucceed to his dominions, the ſtates, convinced by this evidence, or over-awed by his victorious arms, immediately put the Dane in poſſeſſion of the government [1].

A. D. 1017.

BUT though Canute had reached the great point of his ambition in the dominion of England, he was at firſt obliged to make many ſacrifices to it; and to gratify the chief nobility, by beſtowing on them the moſt extenſive governments and juriſdictions. He alſo thought himſelf obliged, from political motives, to exerciſe ſome ſeverities. In order to reward his Daniſh followers, he loaded the people with oppreſſive

taxes;

taxes; and jealous of the two young princes, but ſenſible that he ſhould render himſelf deteſted, if he ordered them to be murdered in England, he ſent them to his ally the king of Sweden, whom he deſired to get them privately diſpatched, as ſoon as they arrived at his court. But the Swediſh monarch was too generous to comply with ſuch a barbarous requeſt. Afraid, however, to draw on himſelf the diſpleaſure of Canute, by protecting the Engliſh princes, he ſent them to be educated in the court of Solomon, king of Hungary. A ſtrange place ſurely to ſeek for a preceptor; but the defenceleſs ſeek only a protector: and the ſons of Edmond found one in Solomon. Edwin, the eldeſt, was married to that monarch's ſiſter; but he dying without iſſue, Solomon gave his ſiſter-in-law, Agatha, daughter of the emperor Henry II. in marriage to Edward, the younger brother; and ſhe bore him Edgar Atheling, whom I ſhall have occaſion to mention; Margaret, afterwards queen of Scotland; and Chriſtina, who retired into a convent [z].

THE removal of Edmond's children into ſo diſtant a country as Hungary, was regarded by Canute, next to their death, as the greateſt ſecurity of his government; but he was ſtill alarmed on account of Alfred and Edward, the ſons of Ethelred, who were protected and ſupported by their uncle, Richard duke of Normandy. Richard had even fitted out a fleet, on purpoſe to reſtore the Engliſh princes to the throne of their anceſtors. In order therefore to ſecure himſelf on that ſide, Canute paid his addreſſes to queen Emma, the duke's ſiſter. He was liſtened to: Richard ſent over Emma to England; and ſhe was ſoon after married to Canute, the enemy of her former huſband's family, and the conqueror of that country, which her children had a right to rule. But Canute promiſed that her children ſhould ſtill rule it, though not the children

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children of Ethelred; and, though the Engliſh diſapproved of the match, they were pleaſed to find at court a ſovereign to whom they were accuſtomed. Canute therefore, by this marriage, not only ſecured the alliance of Normandy, but acquired the confidence of his new ſubjects; and having thus freed himſelf from the danger of a revolution, he determined, like a truly wiſe prince, by the equity of his adminiſtration, to reconcile the Engliſh yet farther to the Daniſh yoke. He ſent back to Denmark as many of his followers as could ſafely be ſpared; he reſtored the Saxon cuſtoms; he made no diſtinction between Danes and Engliſh in the diſtribution of juſtice; and he took care, by a ſtrict execution of law, to protect the lives and properties of all his ſubjects [3]. The Danes were gradually incorporated with the native Engliſh; and both were glad to breathe a little from thoſe multiplied calamities, which the conquerors, no leſs than the conquered, had experienced in their ſtruggle for dominion.

THE firſt uſe that Canute made of this tranquility, was to viſit Denmark, where he obtained a victory over the Swedes, by the valour of the Engliſh, under the command of earl Godwin, on whom he beſtowed his daughter in marriage. In a ſecond voyage to Denmark, he made himſelf maſter of Norway, and expelled the good Olaus from his kingdom. Canute ſeems now to have attained the height of his ambition; for from this period, he not only appears to have laid aſide all future thoughts of conqueſt, but to have held in contempt all the glories and pleaſures of this world: the neceſſary conſequence, my dear Boy, of aſſigning to human enjoyments a ſatisfaction which they cannot yield; and more eſpecially of purſuing them (another effect of the ſame cauſe) at the expence of juſtice and humanity.

A. D. 1028.

DURING

DURING this change of mind it muſt have been that Canute, the greateſt and moſt powerful prince of his time, being ſovereign of Denmark, Norway, and England, put to the bluſh his flattering courtiers, who exclaimed in admiration of his grandeur, that every thing was *poſſible* for him. He ordered a chair to be brought, and ſeated himſelf on the ſea-ſhore, while the tide was riſing; and as the waters approached, he ſaid, in an imperious tone, "Thou, ſea! art under my dominion, and the land which I ſit upon is mine; I charge thee, approach no farther! nor dare to wet the feet of thy ſovereign." He even ſat ſome time in ſeeming expectation of ſubmiſſion: but as the ſea ſtill advanced towards him, and at laſt began to waſh him with its billows, he turned to his courtiers, and obſerved, that every creature in the univerſe is feeble and impotent; and that power alone reſides with ONE Being, in whoſe hands are the elements of nature, and who can ſay to the ocean, "Thus far "ſhalt thou go, and no farther[4]."

BUT though Canute, ſick of worldly greatneſs, began to turn his eyes towards a future ſtate of exiſtence, the ſpirit which prevailed in that age unfortunately gave a wrong direction to his piety. Inſtead of making atonement to thoſe whom he had injured by former acts of violence, he built churches, endowed monaſteries, and appointed prayers to be ſaid for the ſouls of thoſe who had fallen in battle againſt him; nay, more meritorious than all the reſt! he undertook a pilgrimage to Rome.

CANUTE performed nothing memorable after his return from Rome, except an expedition againſt Malcolm king of Scotland, whom he humbled. He died in 1035, and left the crown of England to Harold Harefoot, his ſon by his firſt wife, Alfwen, daughter to the

A. D. 1035.

LET. XVI. the earl of Hampſhire, in prejudice of Hardicanute, Emma's ſon, to whom he had promiſed the ſucceſſion [5].

HAROLD reigned only four years: he was ſucceeded by his brother Hardicanute, whoſe reign was yet ſhorter. Neither of theſe princes had any qualities that merit your attention, nor did any thing memorable happen during their reigns; it will therefore be ſufficient to obſerve, that on the death of Hardicanute, who fell a ſacrifice to his brutal intemperance, the
A.D. 1035. Engliſh ſhook off the Daniſh yoke, and recalled from Normandy Edward, ſon of Ethelred and Emma, ſurnamed the Confeſſor, to the throne of his anceſtors.

THIS revolution was effected without bloodſhed; and the mild and equitable government of Edward ſoon reconciled the Danes, not leſs than the Engliſh, to his ſway. The diſtinction between the two nations vaniſhed. But the Engliſh in vain flattered themſelves, that they were for ever delivered from foreign maſters: a ſhort time convinced them, that the evil was rather ſuſpended than removed.

EDWARD had been educated in Normandy; and having contracted many intimacies with the natives of that country, as well as an affection to their manners, the court of England was ſoon filled with Normans, who were diſtinguiſhed by the royal favour, and had great influence in the national councils. He had alſo it appears, tho' married to a beautiful woman, made an indiſcreet vow of virginity, which rendered his bed ſterile, but obtained him from the monks the title of Saint and Confeſſor; and he had given his kinſman, William duke of Normandy, hopes of ſucceeding to the Engliſh crown. What uſe that enterpriſing prince made of this promiſe, real or pretended, we ſhall afterwards have occaſion to ſee.

IN

In the mean time the Engliſh, and particularly earl Godwin, the moſt powerful nobleman in the kingdom, and who had hopes of exalting his own ſon to the throne, became jealous of the preference ſhewn to foreigners, and openly revolted. The rebels were humbled: the eſtates of Godwin and his ſon were confiſcated; and they were obliged to flee the realm. But they afterwards returned, and reduced the king to conditions; the moſt conſiderable of which was, that all foreigners ſhould be baniſhed the kingdom [6]. A.D. 1053.

Godwin's death, which happened ſoon after this treaty, prevented him from eſtabliſhing that authority, which he had acquired at the expence of the crown; but his ſon Harold, who ſucceeded him in his eſtates and offices, and who, with an ambition equal to his father's, was ſuperior to him in addreſs and inſinuation, proved no leſs dangerous to the unſuſpecting and unwarlike Edward, whoſe confidence he had obtained: and the death of Siward, duke of Northumberland, while it enfeebled the royal authority, gave ſtill more conſequence to the ambitious Harold. Siward, beſides his loyalty, and exploits in behalf of the crown, had acquired honour to England, by his ſucceſsful conduct in the only foreign enterpriſe undertaken during this reign; and as it is connected with a memorable circumſtance in the hiſtory of a neighbouring kingdom, as well as with the intrigues of Harold, it doubly deſerves your attention. A.D. 1055.

Duncan king of Scotland, a prince of a gentle diſpoſition, and ſome talents, but not poſſeſſed of ſufficient vigour to govern a turbulent country, diſtracted by the animoſities of the great, had laid himſelf open to the deſigns of Macbeth, a powerful nobleman, nearly allied to the crown; and who, not contented with curbing the king's authority, carried yet farther his

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his traiterous ambition. He murdered his ſovereign; uſurped the crown; and chaſed Malcolm Kenmure, the prince and heir, into England. Siward, whoſe daughter was married to Duncan, undertook, by Edward's orders, the protection of this unhappy family: he marched an army into Scotland; defeated and killed Macbeth in battle, and reſtored Malcolm to the throne of his anceſtors. This ſervice, added to his former connections with the royal family of Scotland, brought great acceſſion to the authority of Siward in the North, and enabled him to be highly uſeful to Edward, in reſtraining the ambition of Godwin and his family; but as he had loſt his eldeſt ſon Oſbern, in the action with Macbeth, it proved in the end fatal to his family, and hurtful to the crown. His ſecond ſon, Walthoef, appeared too young, on his father's death, to be entruſted with the government of Northumberland; and Harold's influence obtained that dukedom for his own brother Toſti[7].

THERE are two anecdotes related of Siward, which ſtrongly mark his character, and are eminently expreſſive of that enthuſiaſm of valour ſo peculiar to illuſtrious families. When informed of his ſon Oſbern's death, he was at firſt inconſolable; but enquiring how he fell, and being told that he behaved with great gallantry, and that his wound was in the *breaſt*, the feelings of the father ſeemed loſt in thoſe of the ſoldier: his grief was transformed into joy. "Would to God," exclaimed he, "that I had as "many ſons as I have hairs, that I might loſe them "thus!" And when he found his own death approaching, he ordered himſelf to be cloathed in a complete ſuit of armour; and, ſitting erect on the couch, with a ſpear in his hand, "In this poſture," ſaid he, "the only one worthy of a warrior, I will await the "tyrant:

" tyrant: if I cannot conquer, I ſhall at leaſt *face* the " combat[8]!" LET. XVI.

TOSTI behaved ſo tyrannically in his government of Northumberland, that the people roſe againſt him, and expelled him by force of arms; a circumſtance which contributed very much to his brother's aggrandizement. Harold was appointed by the king to puniſh the Northumbrians, and advanced with an army for that purpoſe. He was met by Morcar, who had been elected duke; and finding that Toſti had acted in a manner unworthy of his ſtation, he returned to the king, and generouſly perſuaded him not only to pardon the rebels, but even to confirm Morcar in the dukedom. He afterwards married the ſiſter of that nobleman, and got her younger brother, Edwin, elected into the government of Mercia. He alſo undertook an expedition againſt the Welſh, whom he obliged to receive Engliſh governors[9].

BY theſe political and fortunate ſteps, Harold ſoon found himſelf in a condition openly to aſpire at the ſucceſſion. He had gained the affections of his countrymen by his lenity to the Northumbrians; he had raiſed their admiration of his valour, by his conqueſt of Wales; and he laid almoſt all England under the command of himſelf or his friends. His competitors were Edgar Atheling, the ſole ſurviving heir, who had been recalled from Hungary, and William duke of Normandy, the king's couſin; but the firſt was a youth, whoſe imbecility was thought ſufficient to ſet him aſide, the ſecond a foreigner. Edward's preposſeſſions hindered him from ſupporting the pretenſions of Harold, and his irreſolution from ſecuring the crown to the duke of Normandy, whom he ſecretly favoured: he therefore died without appointing a ſucceſſor, being worn out with age and infirmities, and A. D. 1066.

more

LET. XVI. more anxious about obtaining an heavenly, than ſettling his earthly inheritance.

EDWARD the Confeſſor was the firſt who *touched* for the ſcrophula, hence denominated the King's Evil. The opinion of his ſanctity procured belief to this cure among the ſuperſtitious vulgar; and his ſucceſſors regarded it as a part of their royalty to ſupport the ſame idea. The practice was firſt dropt by the reigning family; who wiſely conſidered, that ſuch a folly muſt be attended with ridicule in the eyes of all men of cultivated minds, and even become the ſcorn of an enlightened populace. Poſterity are more indebted to this prince for the body of laws which he compiled, and which, on account of their mildneſs, were long dear to our anceſtors.

THOUGH Edward left the ſucceſſion undecided, it did not long continue ſo: Harold immediately ſtepped into the vacant throne; and ſo well had he taken his meaſures, that his acceſſion was attended with as little oppoſition or diſturbance, as if he had ſucceeded by the moſt indiſputable hereditary title. The right of Edgar Atheling was ſcarce ever mentioned, and ſtill leſs the claim of the duke of Normandy: the whole nation ſeemed joyfully to ſwear allegiance to the new king [10].

THE firſt danger that Harold experienced was from abroad, and from his own brother. Toſti, when expelled the government of Northumberland, had ſubmitted to a voluntary baniſhment in Flanders; but no ſooner was he informed of the acceſſion of Harold, to whoſe fortunate ambition he conſidered himſelf to have fallen a ſacrifice, than he entered into a league with Halfagar king of Norway, who invaded England with a fleet of three hundred ſail. Toſti himſelf had col-

lected about ſixty veſſels in the ports of Flanders, with which he put to ſea; and after committing ſome depredations on the ſouth and eaſt coaſts, he ſailed to Northumberland, where he was joined by Halfager and his formidable armament. The combined fleets diſembarked their troops at the mouth of the Humber; and the earls of Northumberland and Mercia were defeated in attempting to oppoſe the invaders. LET. XVI. A. D. 1066.

HAROLD was no ſooner informed of this diſaſter, than he haſtened to the North; anxious for the ſafety of his people, and ambitious to ſhew himſelf worthy of that crown which had been conferred upon him by his countrymen. The Engliſh flocked from all quarters to his ſtandard; ſo that when he reached the enemy, he found himſelf in a condition to give them battle, which he did at Standford. The action was long and bloody; but terminated in the total rout of the Danes, and in the death of Toſti and Halfager. Harold, however, had ſcarce time to rejoice on account of this victory, before he received intelligence, that the duke of Normandy was landed with a numerous army in the South, and determined to diſpute his crown.

THE Norman prince, whom I have already had occaſion to mention, both in the hiſtory of France and of England, founded his claim to the Engliſh crown on a pretended will of Edward the Confeſſor in his favour; which he ſeconded by an oath extorted from Harold, when ſhipwrecked on the coaſt of France, that he would never aſpire to the ſucceſſion, and by which he bound himſelf to ſupport the pretenſions of William. The will Harold knew to be without foundation, and the oath he entirely diſregarded, as it had both been drawn from him by the fear of violence, and was in itſelf unlaw-

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ful, unleſs William had been appointed ſucceſſor by the king, or choſen by the people; he therefore replied to the Norman ambaſſadors, who ſummoned him to reſign the kingdom, that he was determined ſtrenuouſly to maintain thoſe national liberties with which he had been intruſted, and that the ſame moment ſhould put a period to his life and his government[11].

This anſwer was no other than what William expected, he was therefore prepared for it. He knew the valour of Harold, and the power of the Engliſh nation; but he conſulted only his ambition, and his courage. The boldneſs of the enterpriſe he thought would aſtoniſh the enemy, and inſpire his ſoldiers with reſolution from deſpair, as well as from a deſire of ſupporting the reputation of their countrymen; who had about this time revived their ancient fame, as we ſhall afterwards have occaſion to ſee, by the moſt hazardous exploits, and the moſt wonderful ſucceſſes, in the other extremity of Europe.

But theſe were not the only foundation of William's hopes. A military ſpirit had univerſally diffuſed itſelf over Europe; and the feudal nobles, whoſe minds were animated by their princely ſituation, greedily embraced the moſt hazardous enterpriſes, however little intereſted in the failure or ſucceſs. Hence their paſſion for chivalry, and their ambition to outſhine each other by the reputation of ſtrength and proweſs, even in the mock-encounter. William had long been diſtinguiſhed among theſe haughty chieftains by his power, his courage, and his addreſs in all military exerciſes; and every one ambitious of acquiring renown in arms, repaired to the court of Normandy, where they were entertained with that hoſpitality and courteſy which diſtinguiſhed the age.

The

The fame of the intended invaſion of England had been every where diffuſed: the more perilous the attempt appeared, the more it ſuited the romantic ſpirit of the times: multitudes of adventurers therefore crowded to tender their ſervice to William, impatient to acquire fame under ſo renowned a leader, or to ſupport, by new acts of heroiſm, that reputation which they had already earned[12]; ſo that the duke's army conſiſted of the flower of all the warriors of the continent, determined to die or to conquer.

THE continental monarchs could ſurely have obſtructed theſe ſupplies; but Philip I. of France, whoſe intereſt moſt it was, being a minor, Baldwin, earl of Flanders, William's father-in-law, who then held the reins of government, favoured the duke's levies (as I have elſewhere had occaſion to obſerve) both in France and Flanders; and the emperor Henry IV. beſides giving all his vaſſals leave to embark in this expedition, which ſo much engaged the attention of Europe, promiſed his protection to the duchy of Normandy during the abſence of the duke, and thereby enabled him to draw his whole ſtrength to the attack of England[13].

BUT William's moſt important ally was pope Alexander II. who had a mighty influence over the warriors of that age; and who, beſides being flattered by the appeal which William had made to his tribunal, at a time when he wanted to be the arbiter of princes, foreſaw, that if the French and Norman barons were ſucceſsful in their enterpriſe, they would import into England, which ſtill maintained ſome degree of independence in eccleſiaſtical matters, a more devoted reverence to the ſee of Rome. He therefore declared immediately in favour of William's claim; pronounced Harold a perjured uſurper; denounced excommunica-

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tion againſt him and his adherents; and in order more particularly to encourage the duke, he ſent him a conſecrated banner, and a ring with one of St. Peter's hairs in it [14]. Thus, as the ſagacious Hume remarks, all the ambition and violence of this invaſion were covered ſafely over with the broad mantle of religion.

THE Norman fleet, which conſiſted of three hundred veſſels, great and ſmall, and carried an army of ſixty thouſand men, ſelected by William from thoſe numerous ſupplies that courted his ſervice, had been aſſembled early in the ſummer, and put to ſea ſoon after; but being long detained by contrary winds, the troops began to imagine that Heaven had declared againſt them, and that notwithſtanding the pope's benediction, they were deſtined to deſtruction. The wind, however, fortunately changed on the eve of the feaſt of St. Michael, the tutelary ſaint of Normandy; and the ſoldiers and their bold leaders, who had an equal contempt of real, and a dread of imaginary dangers, fancying they ſaw the hand of Providence in the cauſe of their former terrors, ſet out with the greateſt alacrity, and ſafely arrived at Pevenſy in Suſſex, where the troops quietly diſembarked. The duke himſelf had the misfortune to fall, as he leaped aſhore; a circumſtance which, conſidering the ſuperſtition of the times, might have been conſtrued to his diſadvantage, but which he had the preſence of mind to turn in his favour, by calling aloud, "I have taken poſſeſſion of "England!" and a ſoldier, running to a neighbouring cottage, plucked ſome thatch, which he preſented to his general, as giving him ſeiſin of the kingdom [15]. The confidence of William and his followers was now ſo great, that even when they heard of Harold's victory over the Danes, inſtead of being diſcouraged, they ſeemed only to long, with more impatience, for the arrival of the Engliſh army.

THEY

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THEY had not long occaſion to wait. Harold was at York when he received intelligence of the Norman invaſion, and haſtened, by quick marches, to meet his competitor; but on reviewing his own army, he found it much diminiſhed, though he had been reinforced with freſh troops from London and other places. His victory proved his ruin. Many of his braveſt officers, and veteran ſoldiers, fell in the action; ſome retired from fatigue; and others ſecretly withdrew from diſcontent, becauſe he had refuſed to diſtribute the Daniſh ſpoils among them: a conduct little agreeable to his uſual generoſity of temper, and which can only be accounted for from a deſire of ſparing his people in the war which hung over them from Normandy.

FROM theſe, and other circumſtances, Gurth, the king's brother, a man of bravery and conduct, began to entertain apprehenſions of the event; and repreſented to the king, that it would be better policy to prolong the war, than to riſk a general action, as the winter was approaching, when the enemy would ſuffer a thouſand hardſhips, while the Engliſh becoming every day more incenſed againſt their invaders, would haſten from all quarters to his aſſiſtance, and render his army invincible; or, if he thought it neceſſary to hazard a battle, he ought at leaſt not to expoſe his perſon, that ſome reſource might be left to the liberty and independency of the kingdom. But Harold, deaf to theſe arguments, rejected his brother's advice with diſdain; and elated with paſt proſperity, as well as ſtimulated by his native courage, replied, that he would give battle in perſon, and convince his ſubjects, that he was worthy of the crown which they had ſet upon his head.

FOR that purpoſe he drew near to the Normans, who had removed their camp to Haſtings. He was

LET. XVI. A. D. 1066. even ſo confident of ſucceſs, that he ſent a meſſage to the duke, offering him a ſum of money, if he would depart the kingdom without effuſion of blood; and William, not to be behind with him in vaunting, returned his meſſage by requiring him to reſign the crown, to ſubmit their cauſe to the arbitration of the pope, or to fight him in ſingle combat. Harold replied, that the God of battles would ſoon be the arbiter of all their differences [16].

BOTH armies now prepared for the awful deciſion; but evening drawing on, they deferred it till morning. During this interval of darkneſs and ſuſpenſe, the ſcene was very different in the two camps: the Engliſh ſpent the night in riot and feaſting; the Normans, in prayer and preparations for the battle. As ſoon as day began to appear, the duke aſſembled his principal officers, and made them a ſpeech ſuitable to the occaſion. He next divided his army into three lines: the firſt conſiſted of archers and light-armed infantry; the ſecond was compoſed of his braveſt battalions, heavy armed, and ranged in cloſe order: the cavalry, at whoſe head William placed himſelf, formed the third line, and were ſo diſpoſed, that they ſtretched beyond the infantry, and flanked each wing of the army. He commanded the ſignal to be given; and the whole army, moving at once, and ſinging the hymn of Roland, the fabulous nephew, but renowned captain of Charlemagne, advanced in order of battle [17].

Oct. 15.

HAROLD, whoſe army was inferior to William's, in numbers as well as in diſcipline, had ſeized the advantage of a riſing ground; and having drawn ſome trenches to ſecure his flanks, ſeemed inclined to act upon the defenſive, and to avoid all encounter with the cavalry, in which his ſtrength was very unequal. The Kentiſh men were placed in the front, a poſt which

they had always claimed as their due: the Londoners guarded the ſtandard; and the king, diſmounting, placed himſelf in the centre, at the head of his infantry, expreſſing his reſolution to conquer or to die. The firſt attack of the Normans was terrible: their archers ſorely galled the Engliſh; and, as the ranks were cloſe, the arrows did great execution. But the Engliſh received the ſhock undiſmayed; and after a furious combat, which remained long undecided, the Normans began to give ground. Confuſion was ſpreading from rank to rank; when William, who found himſelf on the brink of ruin, haſtened with a ſelect band to the relief of his broken forces. His preſence reſtored the battle: the Engliſh were obliged to retire in their turn: but finding that they ſtill made a vigorous reſiſtance, aided by the advantage of the ground, and animated by the example of their valiant prince, the duke ordered his troops to make a haſty retreat, and allure the enemy from their ſtation by the appearance of flight. The artifice ſucceeded: tranſported by the enthuſiaſm of valour, and the heat of action, they precipitantly followed the Normans into the plain; while William inſtructed his infantry at once to face about on their purſuers, and the cavalry to make an aſſault upon their wing. The Engliſh were thrown into diſorder, and driven back with loſs to the hill; where being rallied by the bravery of Harold, they were again able to maintain the ſtruggle. William tried the ſame ſtratagem a ſecond time, and with equal ſucceſs; yet after all, he ſtill found a large body of the Engliſh who remained firm around their prince, and ſeemed determined to diſpute the field to the laſt man; when fortune decided a victory, which valour had left doubtful. Harold was ſhot in the brains by an arrow, while bravely combating at the head of his troops. His two gallant brothers, Gurth and Leofwin, alſo were ſlain; and the Engliſh, diſpirited by

LET. XVI. A. D. 1066.

the death of their leaders, gave way on all ſides, and were purſued with great ſlaughter by the victorious Normans [18].

Thus, my dear Boy, was gained by William the Norman, afterwards ſurnamed the Conqueror, the famous battle of Haſtings, fought from morning to ſunſet, which terminated the Saxon monarchy in England; and which, by the heroic feats of valour diſplayed on both ſides, by both armies and both commanders, ſeemed worthy to decide the fate of a mighty kingdom. Fifteen thouſand of the Normans fell, and a much greater number of the Engliſh.—But before I conſider the conſequences of this victory, and the influence of the revolution by which it was followed, upon the laws, government, and manners of England, we muſt take a view of the other nations of Europe, and alſo caſt a glance on thoſe of Aſia and Africa.

LETTER XVII.

SPAIN, *the* ARABS, *and the Empire of* CONSTANTINOPLE, *during the ninth, tenth, and part of the eleventh Century.*

SPAIN.

LET. XVII. A. D. 788.

THE death of Abderaman, the Mooriſh king, whom we have ſeen reign with ſo much luſtre at Cordova, was followed by diſſentions among his children, which procured ſome relief to the Spaniſh Chriſtians. The little kingdom of the Aſturias, or of Leon and Oviedo, as it was afterwards called, founded by Pelagius, increaſed under Alphonſo III. ſurnamed the Great, on account of his wiſdom and valour. Garcias Ximenes, deſcended from the ancient Spaniards, had alſo founded, in 758, the kingdom of Navarre, which became one of the moſt conſiderable Chriſtian principalities in Spain.

THE Moors however ſtill poſſeſſed Portugal, Murcia, Andaluſia, Valentia, Granada, Tortoſa, and the interior part of the country, as far as the mountains of Caſtile and Saragoſſa; more than three-fourths of Spain, and the moſt fertile provinces. Among them, as in the other nations of Europe, a crowd of too powerful nobles affected independency, and the ſovereign was obliged to contend with his ſubjects for dominion. This was the time to have cruſhed the Mahometan power: but the Chriſtians were not more united than their enemies. Though continually at war with the Moors,

LET. XVII. Moors, they were always ſacrificing each other. The reign of Alphonſo the Great was full of conſpiracies and revolts: his own wife and his two ſons were among the number of the rebels. He reſigned his crown to Garcias the eldeſt; he even generouſly fought under his command; and died in 912, with the glory of a hero, and the piety of a ſaint[1].

A. D. 912.

RAMIRO II. king of Leon and Oviedo, another Spaniſh hero, gained in 938, the celebrated victory of Simancas, where the Moors are ſaid to have loſt fourſcore thouſand men. He had promiſed to St. James, in a pilgrimage to Compoſtella, that, if he was victorious, all his ſubjects ſhould offer annually a certain meaſure of wheat to the church of that ſaint: the church was enriched, and the name of St. James became the alarm to battle among the Spaniards.

MEN are chiefly what they are by their paſſions: hence nothing is ſo irreſiſtible as the valour inſpired by enthuſiaſm while it laſts. The name of St. James was long terrible to the Moors, and long the companion of victory. Mahomet Almanzor however, the celebrated general, and prime miniſter of Hiſſem king of Cordova, found means, by another artifice, to turn the tide of ſucceſs. Seeing his troops begin to fly, in a battle fought on the banks of the river Ezla, he diſmounted from his horſe, ſat down on the field, threw his turban on the ground, and, laying his arms acroſs his breaſt, declared he would in that poſture meet his fate, ſince he was abandoned by his army. This ſtratagem had the deſired effect: his troops returned to the charge, and obtained a complete victory. The Moors became ſenſible they could conquer in ſpite of St. James; and the Chriſtians, in their turn, trembled at the name of Almanzor.

A. D. 959.

THIS

THIS great man, who was no leſs a politician than a warrior, is ſaid to have vanquiſhed the Chriſtian princes in fifty engagements. He took the city of Leon by aſſault; ſacked Compoſtella; pillaged the church of St. James, and carried the gates in triumph on the ſhoulders of his army, to Cordova. That triumph proved his ruin. A flux breaking out in his army, the Chriſtians conſidered it as a puniſhment inflicted by St. James: the flame of enthuſiaſm rekindled, and Almanzor was defeated. But what was infinitely more advantageous to the Chriſtians, as well as more fatal to himſelf, he was ſo much aſhamed of his misfortune, that he would neither eat nor drink, and obſtinately periſhed of hunger [a]. A. D. 998.

ABOUT the beginning of the eleventh century, the race of Abderaman being extinct, the kingdom of Cordova was diſmembered, by the ambition of a number of noblemen, who all uſurped the title of king. Toledo, Valentia, Seville, Saragoſſa, and almoſt all the great cities, had their independent kings. The provinces were changed into kingdoms, which multiplied in the ſame manner among the Chriſtians. They had a king of Leon, of Navarre, of Caſtile, of Arragon; and Sancho, ſurnamed the Great, king of Navarre, was ſo imprudent as to ſubdivide his dominions amongſt his four ſons. Perpetual jealouſies, with all the crimes that accompany them, were the conſequence of theſe diviſions; treachery, poiſonings, aſſaſſinations! the common weapons of petty neighbouring and rival princes, who have much ambition and ſmall means of gratifying it. Hence the hiſtory of Spain becomes always leſs important, in proportion to the increaſe of the kingdoms. One circumſtance, however, merits your attention, both on account of its nature and its ſingularity. A. D. 1034.

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In this dark and oppreſſive period, when the commonalty all over Europe were either degraded to a ſtate of actual ſlavery, or in a condition little more to be envied, the people of Arragon ſhared the government with their ſovereign. The repreſentatives of cities and towns had a place in their Cortes, or national aſſembly. But the Arragonians, not ſatisfied with this check on the royal prerogative, nor willing to truſt the preſervation of their liberties ſolely to their repreſentatives, elected a Juſtiza, or grand judge, who was the ſupreme interpreter of the laws, and whoſe particular buſineſs it was to reſtrain the encroachments of the crown, and protect the rights of the ſubject. He was choſen from among the cavelleros, or ſecond order in the ſtate, anſwering to our gentlemen commoners, that he might be equally intereſted in curbing the oppreſſive ſpirit of the nobles, and ſetting bounds to the ambition of the prince. His perſon was ſacred, and his juriſdiction almoſt unbounded: his power was exerted in ſuperintending the adminiſtration of government, no leſs than in regulating the courſe of juſtice. He had a right to review all the royal proclamations and patents, and to declare whether or not they were agreeable to law, and ought to be carried into execution; and he could, by his ſole authority, exclude any of the king's miniſters from the management of affairs, and call them to anſwer for their conduct while in office. He himſelf was anſwerable to the cortes alone.

The juſtiza had alſo the ſingular privilege of receiving the coronation oath, in the name of the people; when, holding a naked ſword oppoſite to the king's heart, he repeated theſe remarkable words: "We, who are your equals, make you our ſovereign, "and promiſe obedience to your government, on "condition that you maintain our rights and liber-

"ties;

"ties; if not—not!" And it was accordingly an eſtabliſhed maxim in the conſtitution of Arragon, that if the king ſhould violate his engagements, it was lawful for the people to depoſe him, and to elect another in his place [3].

The EMPIRE *of the* ARABS.

FROM the Arabs in Spain, we paſs naturally to thoſe of Aſia, and the neighbouring continent of Africa. The great empire of the Arabs, as well as its branches, experienced thoſe revolutions, which war and diſcord naturally produce, and which ſooner or later overturn the beſt founded governments. The glory of the califat was obſcured towards the end of the ninth century. Under weak or wicked princes, the African governors ſhook off their allegiance: Algiers, Tunis, and Tripoli, formed particular ſtates. Religious quarrels augmented thoſe of ambition. The ſect of the Fatemites flamed with the fury of fanaticiſm. They founded an empire in Egypt; and Cairo, the capital of that empire, became the ſeat of a new calif, and a flouriſhing city of commerce. A. D. 958.

ANOTHER fanatical ſect, perſuaded that the abuſes introduced into the religion of Mahomet required reformation, delivered themſelves up to the tranſports of enthuſiaſm, and acquired ſtrength by being perſecuted. They revolted, obtained ſeveral victories, and ſeized the weſtern coaſts of Africa; where their chief, like the other califs, uniting the royalty with the prieſthood, governed his new empire under the name of Miramoulin, or Commander of the Faithful, a title implying his claim to the califat.

OTHER circumſtances conſpired to diſmember the empire of the Arabs. The califs of Bagdat had received

LET. XVII. ceived into their armies a body of Turks, or Turcomans, a Tartar tribe. Theſe auxiliaries, on account of their valour, were ſoon employed as the royal guard, and ſubjected thoſe whom they were hired to protect. They took advantage of the civil wars raiſed againſt the califat, to make themſelves lords of Aſia: they ſtript the califs, by degrees, of the ſovereignty, but permitted them to retain the pontificate, which they revered, prudently ſubmitting themſelves to the religion of the country, and kneeling to the prieſt while they deſpoiled the king[4].

A VARIETY of ſovereigns ſprung up under the name of Sultans, who were inveſted with their dominions by the califs, but took care to leave them very little authority; ſo that the ſucceſſors of Mahomet found themſelves, towards the middle of the eleventh century, in much the ſame ſituation with thoſe of St. Peter under the firſt German emperors; or with the kings of Europe about the ſame time, whoſe power declined in proportion to the increaſe of their vaſſals.

The EMPIRE *of* CONSTANTINOPLE.

WHILE the empire of the Arabs was thus overturned, and that of Charlemagne falling to pieces, the empire of Conſtantinople, to borrow a ſimile from Voltaire, ſtill ſtood like a large tree, vigorous though old, ſtript of its branches, ſome of its roots, and buffeted on every ſide by ſtorms and tempeſts. Though much circumſcribed on the eaſtern frontier, it yet extended over all Greece, Macedonia, Epirus, Theſſaly, Thrace, Illyricum: it was contracted indeed, but not diſmembered; often changing its emperors, but always united under the perſon who ſwayed the ſceptre. How unworthy, in general, of the imperial dignity! and what a people had they to govern!

NICE-

NICEPHORUS, whom we have ſeen dethrone Irene, was an execrable tyrant. The Saracens robbed him of the iſle of Cyprus; and the Bulgarians, the ſcourge of Thrace, took him priſoner, after having cut off his army, beheaded him, and threw his body to the beaſts of the field, while they made a drinking-cup of his ſkull [a]. A. D. 801.

STAURACUS, the ſon of Nicephorus, rendered himſelf ſo odious in the beginning of his reign, that he was abandoned by his people, and obliged to become a monk.

MICHAEL RANGABUS refuſed to make peace with the Bulgarians, becauſe a monk declared, that he could not, in conſcience, deliver up the deſerters. In conſequence of this refuſal, the Greeks were defeated by the Bulgarians: the emperor betook himſelf to flight; and the officers, incenſed at his behaviour, proclaimed Leo the Armenian.

LEO attempted to aſſaſſinate the king of the Bulgarians; who, in revenge, pillaged the ſuburbs of Conſtantinople. The emperor could conceive nothing more effectual to ſave the ſtate, than the extirpation of idolatry; that is to ſay, the abolition of images. He accordingly commanded a new perſecution; and eight hundred and twenty perſons were maſſacred in one church.

MICHAEL the Stammerer, the ſucceſſor of Leo, at firſt tolerated the worſhip of images; but he afterwards changed his ſyſtem: he perſecuted thoſe whom he had formerly protected, and would even have had the ſabbath obſerved, and the paſſover celebrated in the manner of the Jews. The Saracens took advantage of his weakneſs to make themſelves maſters of the iſle

LET. XVII. A. D. 829. iſle of Crete, now Candia: they alſo conquered almoſt all Sicily, and ravaged Apulia and Calabria[6].

DURING the reign of Theophylus, though more worthy of the imperial throne, the perſecution was redoubled, and the Saracens extended their conqueſts; but after his death, the empreſs Theodora, governing during the minority of Michael III. re-eſtabliſhed the worſhip of images, as Irene had formerly done. Afterwards, deſirous to convert the Manicheans by terror, ſhe cauſed them to be deſtroyed in thouſands. Thoſe who eſcaped, went over to the Bulgarians, and the empire was obliged to contend with its own ſubjects. Michael confined Theodora in a convent; and delivering himſelf up to all manner of crimes, carried his impiety ſo far, as to ſport with the eccleſiaſtical ceremonies. He was aſſaſſinated by Baſil, whom he had aſſociated in the empire, and imprudently would have depoſed.

A. D. 867.

BASIL, originally a beggar, now found himſelf emperor: he is celebrated for his juſtice and humanity; but he was a dupe to the patriarch Photius, whom he favoured with his confidence, even after he had exiled him. His reign is the æra of the grand ſchiſm, which divided the Greek and Latin churches.

THIS ſchiſm, which took its riſe from a jealouſy between the primates of the Eaſt and Weſt, was brought to a criſis by the converſion of the Bulgarians. As Bulgaria had formerly belonged to the Eaſtern empire, it was diſputed, whether the new Chriſtians ſhould be ſubject to the pope, or the patriarch of Conſtantinople. A variety of other reaſons were aſſigned for the ſquabble that followed; but theſe are the true ones, and the only ones which it is neceſſary for you to know. The council of Conſtantinople gave judgment in favour of the patriarch; but the pope's legates

proteſted againſt the deciſion. New circumſtances widened the breach. The two primates excommunicated each other; and though the quarrel was ſometimes moderated by the mediation of the emperors, it was never made up. The ſchiſm continued.

THE Saracens took Syracuſe, while Baſil was employed in founding a church; and his ſon Leo compoſed ſermons, while the empire was ravaged on all ſides. Leo, however, is ſtiled the Philoſopher; becauſe he loved learning, and favoured learned men, not from being an Alfred or a Marcus Aurelius.

CONSTANTINE PORPHYROGENITUS, the ſon of Leo, merits the eulogies beſtowed on him, as a protector of the ſciences, which he himſelf cultivated with ſucceſs. Men of the firſt rank taught philoſophy, geometry, and rhetoric, at Conſtantinople, during his reign, which commenced in 912, and ended 959; but the affairs of the empire did not go on better than formerly.

THEY went on ſtill worſe under Romanus, the ſon of Conſtantine, who had poiſoned his father, and was the tyrant of his people.

NICEPHORUS PHOCAS had the honour of vanquiſhing the Saracens, and of recovering from them Crete, Antioch, and other conqueſts. His avarice and tyranny, however, made him deteſted: his own wife joined in a conſpiracy againſt him; and he was murdered in bed.

JOHN ZIMISCES, one of the aſſaſſins, ſeized the empire, and delivered it from the Roſſi, or Ruſſians, whom he defeated in ſeveral engagements. This brave prince was poiſoned by the eunuch Baſil, his chamberlain; who notwithſtanding preſerved his cre- A. D. 976.

LET. XVII. dit under Baſil II. grandſon of Conſtantine Porphyrogenitus.

BASIL was a warrior, but a moſt barbarous one. Having vanquiſhed the Bulgarians, he cauſed the eyes of five thouſand priſoners to be put out. His ſubjects, loaded with taxes, could not enjoy his triumphs. He fought for himſelf, not for them. His death was followed by a train of the blackeſt crimes of which we have any example in hiſtory.

THE princeſs Zoe, daughter of Conſtantine, the brother and colleague of Baſil, had eſpouſed Romanus Argyrus, who was proclaimed emperor in 1028. Zoe afterwards became enamoured of Michael Paphlagonotus, a man of low birth: ſhe poiſoned her huſband, in order to give the throne to her lover; but the poiſon not operating quick enough, ſhe cauſed Argyrus to be drowned in a bath. The patriarch of Conſtantinople at firſt ſcrupled to marry the empreſs to Michael; but a ſum of money quieted his conſcience, and the imperial crown followed the ſanction of the church.

THE emperor Paphlagonotus, a prey to diſeaſes
A. D. 1041. and remorſe, died in the habit of a monk; and Zoe gave the empire and her hand to Michael Calaphates, the ſon of a caulker, or cobler of ſhips, by a ſiſter of the other Michael, hoping that he would be the ſlave of her will. But the new emperor, jealous of his power, put her in confinement. The people revolted: they releaſed the empreſs and her ſiſter Theodora, and put out the eyes of Calaphates.

THE two ſiſters reigned together a year, and employed themſelves only about trifles. The people would have a prince; and Zoe, at laſt, married Conſtantine Monomachus, one of her ancient lovers, who was

was crowned. This upſtart emperor neglected his wife for a young miſtreſs. The Greeks, incenſed at his conduct, ſeized him in a proceſſion, and declared they would only obey two empreſſes. He would have been cut in pieces, if the princeſſes had not interpoſed. LET. XVII.

MONOMACHUS augmented the miſeries of the empire by his rapacity. The frontier provinces had been exempted from taxes, on condition that they ſhould defend themſelves againſt the Barbarians: the emperor pretended that he would defend them, and made them pay like the reſt of the empire[7]; but they were poorly defended, notwithſtanding the taxes.

THESE particulars will be ſufficient to enable you to judge of the ſtate of Conſtantinople. If at any time we find an able and warlike prince there, we always find the ſame reigning ſpirit of ſuperſtition and rebellion. Iſaac Comnenes, one of the beſt Greek emperors, proclaimed in 1057, made himſelf hated by the monks, becauſe he applied to the public exigencies the ſuperflux of their wealth. Lamed by a fall from his horſe, he gave himſelf up to devotion; reſigned his crown in favour of Conſtantine Ducas; A.D. 1059. and took the habit of a monk.

DUCAS, too much a friend to peace, abandoned the provinces to the ravages of the Turks. He made his three ſons emperors, and left the regency to their mother Eudocia, exacting from her a promiſe that ſhe would never marry, which he obliged her to confirm by writing. She ſoon, however, reſolved to marry Romanus Diogenes, whom ſhe had condemned to die, but whoſe fine perſon ſubdued her heart. Her promiſe, depoſited in the hands of the patriarch, now gave her much

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much uneaſineſs. In order to recover it, ſhe artfully pretended to have fixed her choice on the patriarch's kinſman. This amorous deceit had the deſired effect. The writing was reſtored, and the empreſs abſolved from her promiſe of widowhood. Eudoſia did not fail to take advantage of her releaſe. She immediately married Romanus, and procured him the empire[8].

COULD ignorant ſavages have acted more abſurdly? or ruffians amenable to public juſtice more atrociouſly? —Yet the Greeks were ſtill the moſt learned and poliſhed people in Europe; and Conſtantinople, notwithſtanding all its misfortunes, its revolutions, and crimes, having never felt the deſtructive rage of the Barbarians, was the largeſt and moſt beautiful European city, and the only one where any image of the ancient manners or arts remained.

THUS, my dear Boy, we rapidly traverſe the wilds of hiſtory; where the objects are confuſed, rude, and unintereſting: but theſe firſt ſtages are neceſſary, in order to arrive at more cultivated fields. We ſhall ſoon meet with a new ſet of objects, equally various and important; and then more leiſure and attention will be required. In the mean time, we muſt take a ſlight review of paſt ages.

LETTER

LETTER XVIII.

The Progreſs of Society in EUROPE, *from the Settlement of the Modern Nations, to the Middle of the Eleventh Century.*

LETTER XVIII.

I HAVE already given you an account of the Syſtem of Policy and Legiſlation eſtabliſhed by the Barbarians, or modern nations, on their firſt ſettlement in the provinces of the Roman empire[1]; and I have endeavoured, in the courſe of my narration, to trace the progreſs of ſociety, as it regards religion, laws, government, manners, and literature: but as the hiſtory of the human mind is of infinitely more importance than the detail of events, this letter ſhall be entirely devoted to ſuch circumſtances as tend more particularly to throw light upon that ſubject. I ſhall alſo purſue the ſame method, at different intervals, during the ſubſequent part of your hiſtorical ſtudies.

THOUGH the northern invaders wanted taſte to value the Roman arts, laws, or literature, they generally embraced the religion of the conquered: and the mild and benevolent ſpirit of Chriſtianity would doubtleſs have ſoftened their ſavage manners, had not their minds been already infected by a barbarous ſuperſtition; which mingling itſelf with the Chriſtian principles and ceremonies, produced that abſurd mixture of violence, devotion, and folly, which has ſo long diſgraced the Romiſh church, and which formed the character of the middle ages. The clergy were gainers, but Chriſtianity was a loſer, by the converſion of the Barbarians. They rather changed the object, than the ſpirit of their religion.

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THE Druids among the Gauls, and the Prieſts among the ancient Germans, and all the nations of Scandinavia, poſſeſſed an abſolute dominion over the minds of men. Theſe people, after embracing Chriſtianity, retained their veneration for the prieſthood; and unhappily the clergy of thoſe times had neither virtue enough to preſerve them from abuſing, nor knowledge ſufficient to enable them to make a proper uſe of their power. They favoured the ſuperſtitious homage; and ſuch of the Barbarians as entered into orders, carried their ignorance and their original prejudices along with them.

THE Chriſtian emperors had enriched the church; they had laviſhed on it privileges and immunities: and theſe ſeducing advantages had but too much contributed to a relaxation of diſcipline, and the introduction of diſorders, more or leſs hurtful, which had altered the ſpirit of the goſpel. Under the dominion of the Barbarians, the degeneracy increaſed, till the pure principles of Chriſtianity were loſt in a groſs ſuperſtition, which, inſtead of aſpiring to ſanctity and virtue, the only ſacrifice that can render a rational being acceptable to the great Author of order and of excellence, endeavoured to conciliate the favour of God by the ſame means that ſatisfied the juſtice of men, or by thoſe employed to appeaſe their fabulous deities[z].

As all civil crimes were bought off by money among the northern conquerors, they attempted, in like manner, to bribe heaven, by benefactions to the church; and the more they gave themſelves up to their brutal paſſions, to rapine and to violence, the more profuſe they were in this ſpecies of good works. They ſeem to have believed, ſays the Abbe de Mably, that avarice was the firſt attribute of the Divinity, and that

that the ſaints made a traffic of their influence and protection. Hence the *bon mot* of Clovis: "St. Martin ſerves his friends very well; but he makes them pay ſoundly for his trouble!"

"Our treaſury is poor," ſaid Chilperic, the grandſon of Clovis; "our riches are gone to the church: the biſhops are the kings!"—And indeed the ſuperior clergy, who by the acquiſition of lands, added the power of fortune to the influence of religion, were often the arbiters of kingdoms, and diſpoſed of the crown while they regulated the affairs of the ſtate. There was a neceſſity of conſulting them, becauſe they poſſeſſed all the knowledge that then remained in Europe: they only knew any thing. The acts of their councils were conſidered as infallible decrees, and they ſpoke uſually in the name of God; but alas! they were only men.

As the intereſt of the clergy claſhed with that of the laity, oppoſition and jealouſy produced new diſorders. The prieſts made uſe of artifice againſt their powerful adverſaries; they invented fables to awe them into ſubmiſſion; they employed the ſpiritual arms in defence of their temporal goods; they changed the mild language of charity into frightful anathemas: the religion of Jeſus breathed nothing but terror. To the thunder of the church, the inſtrument of ſo many wars and revolutions, they joined the aſſiſtance of the ſword. Warlike prelates, clad in armour, combated for their poſſeſſions, or to uſurp thoſe of others; and, like the heathen prieſts, whoſe pernicious influence was founded on the ignorance of the people, the Chriſtian clergy ſought to extend their authority by confining all knowledge to their own order. They made a myſtery of the moſt neceſſary ſciences: truth was not permitted to ſee the light, and reaſon was fettered

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in the cell of ſuperſtition. Many of the clergy themſelves could ſcarce read, and writing was principally confined to the cloiſters [3]; where a blind and intereſted devotion, equally willing to deceive and to believe, held the quill; and where lying chronicles and fabulous legends were compoſed, which contaminated hiſtory, religion, and the principles and the laws of ſociety.

WITHOUT arts, ſciences, commerce, policy, principles, almoſt all the European nations were as barbarous and wretched as they could poſſibly be, unleſs a miracle had been wrought for the diſgrace of humanity. Charlemagne indeed in France, and Alfred the Great in England, as you have already had occaſion to ſee, endeavoured to diſpel this darkneſs, and tame their ſubjects to the reſtraints of law; and they were ſo fortunate as to ſucceed: light and order diſtinguiſhed their reigns. But the ignorance and barbariſm of the age were too powerful for their liberal inſtitutions: the darkneſs returned, after their time, more thick and heavy than formerly, and ſettled over Europe, and ſociety again tumbled into chaos.

THE ignorance of the Weſt was ſo profound, during the ninth and tenth centuries, that the clergy, who alone poſſeſſed the important ſecrets of reading and writing, became neceſſarily the arbiters and the judges of almoſt all ſecular affairs. They comprehended, in their juriſdiction, marriages, contracts, wills; which they took care to involve in myſtery, and by which they opened to themſelves new ſources of wealth and power. Every thing wore the colour of religion [4]: temporal and ſpiritual concerns were confounded; and from this unnatural mixture ſprung a thouſand abuſes. The hiſtory of thoſe ages forms a ſatire on the human ſoul;

ſoul; and on religion, if we ſhould impute to it the faults of its miniſters.

"REDEEM your ſouls from deſtruction," ſays St. Egidius, biſhop of Noyon, "while you have the "means in your power; offer preſents and tythes to "churchmen; come more frequently to church; "humbly implore the patronage of the ſaints: for if "you obſerve theſe things, you may come with ſecu-"rity in the day of the tribunal of the eternal Judge, "and ſay, Give us, O Lord, for we have given un-"to thee[5]!"

IN ſeveral churches of France they celebrated a feſtival in commemoration of the Virgin Mary's flight into Egypt. It was called the Feaſt of the Aſs. A young girl richly dreſſed, with a child in her arms, was ſet upon an aſs ſuperbly capariſoned. The aſs was led to the altar in ſolemn proceſſion. High maſs was ſaid with great pomp. The aſs was taught to kneel at proper places: an hymn, not leſs childiſh than impious, was ſung in his praiſe: and when the ceremony was ended, the prieſt, inſtead of the uſual words with which he diſmiſſed the people, brayed three times like an aſs; and the people, inſtead of the uſual reſponſe, brayed three times in return[6].

LETTERS began to revive in the eleventh century; but what letters!—A ſcientifical jargon, a falſe logic, employed about words, without conveying any idea of things, compoſed the learning of thoſe times. It confounded every thing, in endeavouring to analyſe every thing. As the new ſcholars were principally divines, theological matters chiefly engaged their attention: and as they neither knew hiſtory, philoſophy, nor criticiſm, their labours were as futile as their inquiries, which were equally diſgraceful to reaſon and religion,

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religion. The conception of the bleſſed Virgin, and the digeſtion of the euchariſt, were two of the principal objects of their ſpeculation: and out of the laſt a third aroſe; which was, to know whether it was voided again[7]!

THE diſorders of government and manners kept pace, as they always will, with thoſe of religion and letters. They ſeem to have attained their utmoſt height towards the cloſe of the tenth century. Then the feudal policy, whoſe defects I have elſewhere noticed[8], was become univerſal. The dukes or governors of provinces, the marquiſes employed to guard the marches, and even the counts intruſted with the adminiſtration of juſtice, all originally officers of the crown, had made themſelves maſters of their duchies, marquiſates, and counties. The king indeed, as ſuperior lord, ſtill received homage from them for thoſe lands which they held of the crown, and which, in default of heirs, returned to the royal domain: he had a right of calling them out to war; of judging them in his court by their aſſembled peers, and of confiſcating their eſtates in caſe of rebellion; but in all other reſpects, they themſelves enjoyed the rights of royalty. They had their ſub-vaſſals, or ſubjects; they made laws, held courts, coined money in their own name, and levied war againſt their private enemies[9].

THE moſt frightful diſorders aroſe from this ſtate of feudal anarchy. Force decided all things. Europe was one great field of battle; where the weak ſtruggled for freedom, and the ſtrong for dominion. The king was without power, and the nobles without principle; they were tyrants at home, and robbers abroad: nothing remained to be a check upon ferocity and violence. The Scythians in their deſerts could not be leſs indebted to the laws of ſociety, than the Europeans,

peans, during the period under review. The people, the moſt numerous as well as the moſt uſeful claſs in the community, were either actual ſlaves, or expoſed to ſo many miſeries, ariſing from pillage and oppreſſion, to one or other of which they were a continual prey, and often to both, that many of them made a voluntary ſurrender of their liberty for bread and protection[1]. What muſt have been the ſtate of that government, where ſlavery was an eligible condition!

BUT conformable to the obſervation of the philoſophic Hume, there is a point of depreſſion, as well as of exaltation, beyond which human affairs ſeldom paſs, and from which they naturally return in a contrary progreſs. This utmoſt point of decline ſociety ſeems to have attained in Europe, as I have already ſaid, about the beginning of the eleventh century; when the diſorders of the feudal government, together with the corruption of taſte and manners conſequent upon theſe, were arrived at their greateſt exceſs: and accordingly from that æra, we can trace a ſucceſſion of cauſes and events, which, with different degrees of influence, contributed to aboliſh anarchy and barbariſm, and introduce order and politeneſs.

AMONG the firſt of theſe cauſes we muſt rank Chivalry; which, as the elegant and inquiſitive Dr. Robertſon remarks, though commonly conſidered as a wild inſtitution, the reſult of caprice and the ſource of extravagance, aroſe naturally from the ſtate of ſociety in thoſe times, and had a very ſerious effect in refining the manners of the European nations.

THE feudal ſtate, as has been obſerved, was a ſtate of perpetual war, rapine, and anarchy. The weak and unarmed were expoſed every moment to inſults or injuries. The power of the ſovereign was too limited

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to prevent theſe wrongs, and the legiſlative authority too feeble to redreſs them: there was ſcarce any ſhelter from violence and oppreſſion, except what the valour and generoſity of private perſons afforded; and the arm of the brave was the only tribunal to which the helpleſs could appeal for juſtice. The trader could no longer travel in ſafety, or bring to market his commodities, without which there was no ſubſiſting: every poſſeſſor of a caſtle pillaged them, or laid them under contribution; and many not only plundered the merchants, but carried off all the women that fell in their way. Slight inconveniencies may be overlooked or endured; but when abuſes grow to a certain height, the ſociety muſt reform, or go to ruin; it becomes the buſineſs of all to diſcover, and to apply ſuch remedies as will moſt effectually remove them. Humanity ſprung from the boſom of violence, and relief from the hand of rapacity. Thoſe licentious and tyrannic nobles, who had been guilty of every ſpecies of outrage, and every mode of oppreſſion; who, equally unjuſt, unfeeling, and ſuperſtitious, had made pilgrimages, and had pillaged; who had maſſacred, and done penance: touched at laſt by a ſenſe of natural equity, and ſwayed by the conviction of a common intereſt, formed aſſociations for the redreſs of private wrongs, and the preſervation of public ſafety [11]. So honourable was the origin of an inſtitution generally repreſented as whimſical!

THE young warrior among the ancient Germans, as well as among the modern knights, was armed, for the firſt time, with certain ceremonies proper to inſpire martial ardour; but chivalry, conſidered as a civil and military inſtitution, is as late as the eleventh century. The previous diſcipline and ſolemnities of initiation you will find in books of knighthood. Valour, humanity, courteſy, juſtice, honour, were its

characteriſtics: and to theſe were added religion; which, by infuſing a large portion of enthuſiaſtic zeal, carried them all to a romantic exceſs, wonderfully ſuited to the genius of the age, and productive of the greateſt and moſt permanent effects both upon policy and manners. War was carried on with leſs ferocity, when humanity, no leſs than courage, came to be deemed the ornament of knighthood, and knighthood a diſtinction ſuperior to royalty, and an honour which princes were proud to receive from the hands of private gentlemen; more gentle and poliſhed manners were introduced, when courteſy was recommended as the moſt amiable of knightly virtues, and every knight devoted himſelf to the ſervice of a lady; violence and oppreſſion decreaſed, when it was accounted meritorious to check and to puniſh them: a ſcrupulous adherence to truth, with the moſt religious attention to fulfil every engagement, but particularly thoſe between the ſexes, as more eaſily violated, became the diſtinguiſhing character of a gentleman, becauſe chivalry was regarded as the ſchool of honour, and inculcated the moſt delicate ſenſibility with reſpect to that point[11]; and valour, ſeconded by ſo many motives of love, religion, and virtue, became altogether irreſiſtible.

THAT the ſpirit of chivalry ſometimes roſe to an extravagant height, and had often a pernicious tendency, muſt however be allowed. In Spain, under the influence of a romantic gallantry, it gave birth to a ſeries of wild adventures, which have been deſervedly ridiculed: in the train of Norman ambition, it extinguiſhed the liberties of England, and deluged Italy in blood; and we ſhall ſoon ſee it, at the call of ſuperſtition, and as the engine of papal power, deſolate Aſia under the banner of the croſs. But theſe ought not to be conſidered as arguments againſt an inſtitution laudable

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laudable in itſelf, and neceſſary at the time of its foundation: and thoſe who pretend to deſpiſe it, the advocates of ancient barbariſm and ancient ruſticity, ought to remember, that chivalry not only firſt taught mankind to carry the civilities of peace into the operations of war, and to mingle politeneſs with the uſe of the ſword, but rouſed the human ſoul from its lethargy, invigorated the human character, even while it ſoftened it, and produced exploits which antiquity cannot parallel. Nor ought they to forget, that it gave variety, elegance, and pleaſure, to the intercourſe of life, by making woman a more eſſential part of ſociety; and is therefore entitled to our gratitude, though the point of honour, and the refinements in gallantry, its more doubtful effects, ſhould be excluded from the improvements in modern manners.



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The GERMAN *Empire and its Dependencies,* ROME *and the* ITALIAN *States, under* CONRAD II. *and his Deſcendants of the Houſe of* FRANCONIA.

WE now, my dear Boy, return to the great line of hiſtory, which I ſhall endeavour to trace as exactly as poſſible, that you may be able to keep in view the train of events; without which, you will neither be able to reaſon diſtinctly on them yourſelf, nor to underſtand clearly the reaſonings of others. I ſhall therefore bring down the hiſtory of the German empire to the death of Henry V. when the quarrel between the popes and the emperors came to a ſtand, before I ſpeak of the affairs of France and England; which, from the Norman conqueſt, became inſeparably interwoven, but had little influence for ſome centuries on the reſt of Europe. LET. XIX.

GREAT diſputes enſued on the death of Henry II. about the nomination of a ſucceſſor to the empire, that prince, as you have had occaſion to ſee, dying without iſſue. The princes and ſtates aſſembled in the open fields, between Mentz and Worms, no hall being ſufficient to hold them; and, after ſix weeks encampment and deliberation, they elected Conrad, duke of Franconia, ſurnamed the Salic, becauſe he was born on the banks of the river Sala [1]. A. D. 1024.

THE Lombards revolting, as uſual, ſoon after the election of the new emperor, Conrad marched into Italy; and having reduced the rebels by force of arms, he

LET. XIX. A. D. 1027. he went to Rome, where he was conſecrated and crowned by pope John XX. in preſence of Canute the Great, king of England, Denmark, and Norway, and Rodolph III. king of Transjurane Burgundy. But his ſtay at Rome was very ſhort. Scarce was the coronation over, when he was obliged to return to Germany, on account of ſome inſurrections raiſed in his abſence. Before he attempted to humble the inſurgents, he took the precaution however to have his ſon Henry, then about twelve years of age, declared his ſucceſſor, and ſolemnly crowned at Aix-la-Chapelle. The rebellion was ſoon ſuppreſſed by the valour of Conrad: he defeated the authors of it in ſeveral engagements; in one of which, Erneſt, duke of Suabia, was ſlain, after having been put to the ban of the empire [2].

THE word *ban* originally ſignified banner, afterwards edict, and laſtly a declaration of outlawry, which was intimated thus: "We declare thy wife a "widow, thy children orphans; and ſend thee, in "the name of the devil, to the four corners of the "earth." This is one of the firſt examples of that preſcription.

THE emperor next turned his arms againſt the Poles, and afterwards againſt the Huns, and obliged both to ſubſcribe to his own conditions. In the mean A. D. 1034. time Rodolph, king of Transjurane Burgundy, dying without iſſue, left his dominions to Conrad. They were of ſmall extent, but included the territorial ſuperiority over the Swiſs, the Griſons, Provence, Franche-Compté, Savoy, Geneva, and Dauphiné. Hence the lands on the other ſide of the Rhine are ſtill called the Lands of the Empire; and all the noblemen of thoſe cantons, who formerly held of Rodolph and his predeceſſors, now hold of the emperor [3].

WHILE

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WHILE Conrad was employed in taking poſſeſſion of his new inheritance, the Poles revolted; and this rebellion was no ſooner quelled, than he had occaſion to compoſe another in Italy, headed by Hubert, biſhop of Milan, whom he had loaded with favours. Conrad made ſo much haſte, that Milan was taken by ſurpriſe. The biſhop was condemned to perpetual baniſhment; and the emperor died ſoon after his return to Germany, leaving behind him the reputation of a juſt, generous, and magnanimous prince [4]. A.D. 1039.

HENRY III. ſurnamed the Black, ſon of Conrad and Giſella of Suabia, was elected in conſequence of his father's recommendation, and crowned a ſecond time at Aix-la-Chapelle.

THE firſt years of Henry's reign were ſignalized by ſucceſsful wars againſt Bohemia, Poland, and Hungary; which, however, produced no great event. Rome and Italy, as uſual, were involved in confuſion, and diſtracted by factions, particularly thoſe of the Pandolphi and the Ptolemei. The Pandolphi had thruſt Benedict IX. a boy of twelve years of age, into the papacy. He was depoſed by the Ptolemei and the people, who ſubſtituted in his place Sylveſter III. This new pope was depoſed, in his turn, by the Pandolphi, and his rival re-eſtabliſhed. Benedict, however, finding himſelf univerſally deſpiſed, voluntarily reſigned in favour of John, arch-prieſt of the Roman church; but afterwards repenting of his reſignation, he wanted to reſume his dignity.

THESE three popes, ſupported by their ſeveral partizans, and living peaceably with each other, maintained themſelves each upon a different branch of the revenues of the Holy See. One reſided at St. Peter's, another at Santa Maria Major, and the third in the

Let. XIX. palace of the Lateran, all leading the moſt profligate and ſcandalous lives. A prieſt called Gratian, at laſt, put an end to this ſingular triumvirate. Partly by artifice, partly by preſents, he prevailed upon all three to renounce their pretenſions to the papacy; and the people of Rome, out of gratitude for ſo ſignal a ſervice to the church, choſe him pope, under the name of Gregory VI[5].

Henry III. took umbrage at this election, in which he had not been conſulted, and marched with an army into Italy. Never emperor exerciſed more authority in that country. He depoſed Gregory, as having been guilty of ſimony, and filled the papal chair with
A. D. 1046. his own chancellor, Heidiger, biſhop of Bamberg, who aſſumed the name of Clement II. and afterwards conſecrated Henry and the empreſs Agnes.

This ceremony being over, and the Romans having ſworn never to elect a pope without the approbation of the reigning emperor, Henry proceeded to
A. D. 1047. Capua, where he was viſited by Drago, Rainulphus, and other Norman adventurers, who leaving their country at different times, had made themſelves maſters of great part of Apulia and Calabria, at the expence of the Greeks and Saracens. Henry entered into treaty with them; and not only ſolemnly inveſted them with thoſe territories which they had acquired by conqueſt, but prevailed on the pope to excommunicate the Beneventines, who had refuſed to open their gates to him, and beſtowed that city and its dependencies, as fiefs of the empire, upon the Normans, provided they took poſſeſſion by force of arms[6]. What uſe they made of the imperial favour, we ſhall afterwards have occaſion to ſee. At preſent the papacy claims all your attention.

The

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THE emperor was ſcarce returned to Germany, when he received intelligence of the death of Clement II. He was ſucceeded in the apoſtolic ſee by Damaſus II. who alſo dying ſoon after his elevation, Henry nominated Bruno, biſhop of Toul, to the vacant chair. This Bruno, who was the emperor's relation, immediately aſſumed the pontificals; but being a modeſt and pious prelate, he threw them off on his journey, by the perſuaſion of a monk of Cluny, named Hildebrand, afterwards the famous Gregory VII. and went to Rome as a private man. "The emperor alone," ſaid Hildebrand, "has no right to create a pope." He accompanied Bruno to Rome, and ſecretly retarded his election, that he might arrogate to himſelf the merit of obtaining it[7]. The ſcheme ſucceeded to his wiſh: Bruno, who took the name of Leo IX. believing himſelf indebted to Hildebrand for the pontificate, favoured him with his particular friendſhip and confidence; and hence originated the power of this enterpriſing monk, of obſcure birth, but boundleſs ambition, who governed Rome ſo long, and whoſe zeal for the exaltation of the church occaſioned ſo many troubles to Europe. A.D.1048.

LEO, ſoon after his elevation, waited on the emperor at Worms, to crave aſſiſtance againſt the Norman princes, who were become the terror of Italy, and treated their ſubjects with great ſeverity. Henry furniſhed the pope with an army; at the head of which he marched againſt the Normans, after having excommunicated them, accompanied by a great number of biſhops, and other eccleſiaſtics, who were all either killed or taken priſoners, the Germans and Italians being totally routed. Leo himſelf was led captive to Benevento, which the Normans were now maſters of, and which Henry had granted to the pope in exchange for the fief of Bamberg in Germany; and the apoſtolic ſee A.D 1053.

LET. XIX. is to this day in poſſeſſion of Benevento, by virtue of that donation. The Normans, however, who had a right to the city by a prior grant, reſtored it, in the mean time, to the princes of Lombardy; and Leo was treated with ſo much reſpect by the conquerors, that he revoked the ſentence of excommunication, and joined his ſanction to the imperial inveſtiture for the lands which they held in Apulia and Calabria [8].

A.D 1054. LEO died ſoon after his releaſe; and the emperor, about the ſame time, cauſed his infant ſon, afterwards the famous Henry IV. to be declared king of the Romans, a title ſtill in uſe for the acknowledged heir of the empire. Gebehard, a German biſhop, was elected pope, under the name of Victor II. and confirmed by the addreſs of Hildebrand [9], who waited on the emperor in perſon for that purpoſe, though he diſdained to conſult him beforehand. Perhaps Hildebrand would not have found this taſk ſo eaſy, had not Henry been involved in a war with the Hungarians, who preſſed him hard, but whom he obliged at laſt to pay a large tribute, and furniſh him annually with a certain number of fighting men.

As ſoon as the emperor had finiſhed this war, and others to which it gave riſe, he marched into Italy to inſpect the conduct of his ſiſter Beatrice, widow of Boniface marquis of Mantua, and made her priſoner. She had married Gozelo, duke of Lorrain, without the emperor's conſent; and contracted her daughter Matilda, by the marquis of Mantua, to Godfrey duke of Spoleto and Tuſcany, Gozelo's ſon by a former marriage. This formidable alliance juſtly alarmed Henry; he therefore attempted to diſſolve it, by carA.D. 1056. rying his ſiſter into Germany, where he died ſoon after his return, in the thirty-ninth year of his age, and the ſixteenth of his reign.

THIS emperor, in his laſt journey to Italy, concluded an alliance with Contarini, doge of Venice. That republic was already rich and powerful, though it had only been enfranchiſed in the year 998, from the tribute of a mantle of cloth of gold, which it formerly paid, as a mark of ſubjection, to the emperors of Conſtantinople. Genoa was the rival of Venice in power and in commerce, and was already in poſſeſſion of the iſland of Corſica, which the Genoeſe had taken from the Saracens. Theſe two cities, which I ſhall afterwards have occaſion frequently to mention, ingroſſed at this time almoſt all the trade of Europe. There was no city in any reſpect equal to them either in France or Germany.

HENRY IV. ſurnamed the Great, was only five years old at his father's death. He was immediately acknowledged emperor in a diet of the princes convoked at Cologne, and the care of his education was committed to his mother Agnes, who alſo governed the empire. She was a woman of ſpirit and addreſs, and diſcharged both her public and private truſt with diligence and capacity. A. D. 1056.

GERMANY, during the firſt years of this reign, was harraſſed by civil wars; ſo that the empreſs Agnes, notwithſtanding her abilities, found it difficult to maintain her authority: and at length the dukes of Saxony and Bavaria, uncles of the young emperor, carried him off from her by ſtratagem, accuſing her of ſacrificing the public welfare to the will of the biſhop of Augſburgh, her miniſter, and ſuppoſed gallant. Thus diveſted of the regency, ſhe fled to Rome, and there took the veil [10]. A. D. 1062.

HENRY was now put under the tuition of the archbiſhops of Cologne and Bremen, who exerciſed their

LET. XIX. truſt in a very different manner: the firſt endeavoured to inſpire him with a love of learning and virtue; while the ſecond ſought only to acquire an aſcendancy over his paſſions, by indulging him in all the pleaſures of youth, which produced a habit of licentiouſneſs that he could never afterwards reſtrain [11].

ITALY, in the mean time, was a prey, as uſual, to inteſtine diſorders. After a variety of troubles excited on account of the pontificate, Nicholas II. the creature of Hildebrand, paſſed a celebrated decree, A. D. 1059. which gave riſe to many more; and by which it was ordained, in a council of an hundred and thirteen biſhops, that for the future the cardinals only ſhould elect the pope, and that the election ſhould be confirmed by the reſt of the clergy and the people: "ſaving the honour," adds he, "due to our dear ſon "Henry, now king, and who, if it pleaſe God, ſhall "one day be emperor, according to the right which "we have already conferred upon him [12]."

THE ſame pope Nicholas II. after having in vain excommunicated the Norman princes, made protectors and vaſſals of them; and they, who were feudatories of the empire, leſs afraid of the popes than the emperors, A. D. 1059. readily did homage for their lands to Nicholas, and agreed to hold them of the church [13].

THIS mode of holding was very common in thoſe days of rapacity, both for princes and private perſons, the church being the only authority that was then reſpected: and the Normans wiſely made uſe of it as a ſafe-guard againſt the emperors. They gave their lands to the church under the name of an offering, or oblata, and continued in poſſeſſion of them on paying a ſlight acknowledgment. Hence the pope's claim of ſuperiority over the kingdom of Naples and Sicily [14].

ROBERT

ROBERT GUISCARD, the brother of Drago, and one of the gallant ſons of Tancred of Hauteville, received from the pope the ducal crown of Apulia and Calabria, and Richard, count of Averſa, was confirmed prince of Capua; a title which he had already aſſumed. The pope alſo gave them a right to hold Sicily in the ſame manner with their other poſſeſſions, provided they could expel the Saracens from it; and Robert and his brother Roger made themſelves maſters of that iſland in 1071 [15]. LET XIX

HENRY IV. aſſumed the reins of government at the age of twenty-two, and began his adminiſtration with reſtraining the thefts, robberies, and extortions, which his ſubjects of the duchy of Saxony exerciſed upon ſtrangers, as well as upon each other. But the Saxon princes and nobles, who were gainers by theſe abuſes, particularly by the infamous practice of impriſoning travellers, and making them pay for their ranſom, oppoſed the intended reformation, and entered into an aſſociation againſt the emperor, under pretence that their liberties were in danger. In this rebellious diſpoſition they were encouraged by the arrogance of pope Alexander II. who, at the inſtigation of Hildebrand, his confidant and oracle, ſummoned Henry to appear before the tribunal of the Holy See, on account of his looſe life, and to anſwer to the charge of having expoſed the inveſtiture of biſhops to ſale. A. D. 1072

HENRY treated the pope's mandate with the contempt it deſerved; and at the ſame time carried on war with vigour againſt the Saxons, and their rebellious aſſociates, whom he totally routed in a bloody engagement, and made himſelf maſter of all Saxony. The heads of the rebellion aſked pardon of the emperor in public, and begged to be reſtored to his favour: A. D. 1074.

LET. XIX. A. D. 1075.

he generouſly accepted their ſubmiſſion, and peace was reſtored to Germany [15].

BUT Henry was not ſuffered long to enjoy the fruits of his valour. A new ſtorm threatened him from Italy; which afterwards fell with violence on his head, and ſhook all the thrones in Chriſtendom. On the death of Alexander II. Hildebrand had been elected pope, under the name of Gregory VII. and though he had not aſked the emperor's voice, he prudently waited for his confirmation, before he aſſumed the tiara. He obtained it by this mark of ſubmiſſion: Henry confirmed his election; and Gregory, having nothing further to fear, took off the maſk. He began his pontificate with excommunicating every eccleſiaſtic who ſhould receive a benefice from a layman, and every layman by whom ſuch benefice ſhould be conferred. This was engaging the church in an open quarrel with the ſovereigns of all nations: but the thunder of the Holy See was more particularly directed againſt the emperor; and Henry, ſenſible of his danger, and willing to avert it, wrote a ſubmiſſive letter to Gregory, who pretended to take him into favour, after having ſeverely reprimanded him for the crimes of ſimony and debauchery, laid againſt him by the late pope, and of which he now confeſſed himſelf guilty [17].

GREGORY, at the ſame time, propoſed a cruſade, in order to deliver the holy ſepulchre from the hands of the Infidels, offering to head the Chriſtians in perſon, and deſiring Henry to ſerve as a volunteer under his command [18]!—a project ſo wild and extravagant, that nothing but the prevailing ſpirit of the times, the double enthuſiaſm of religion and valour, can ſave the memory of its author from the imputation of inſanity.

GREGORY'S

LET. XIX. A. D. 1075.

GREGORY's project of making himſelf lord of Chriſtendom, ſeems no leſs romantic; yet this he undertook, and not altogether without ſucceſs. Solomon, king of Hungary, depoſed by his brother Geyſa, had fled to Henry for protection, and renewed the homage of Hungary to the empire. Gregory, who favoured Geyſa, exclaimed againſt this act of ſubmiſſion; and ſaid, in a letter to Solomon, "You ought to know, "that the kingdom of Hungary belongs to the Ro- "man church; and learn, that you will incur the in- "dignation of the Holy See, if you do not acknow- "ledge that you hold your dominions of the pope, "and not of the emperor [19]!"

THIS preſumptuous declaration, and the neglect it met with, brought the quarrel between the empire and the church to a criſis. It was directed to Solomon, but intended for Henry: and if Gregory could not ſucceed in one way, he was reſolved that he ſhould in another; he therefore reſumed the claim of inveſtitures, for which he had a more plauſible pretence; and as that diſpute and its conſequences merit your particular attention, I ſhall be more circumſtantial than uſual.

THE predeceſſors of Henry IV. had always enjoyed the right of nominating biſhops and abbots, and of giving them inveſtiture by the croſs and the ring. This right they had in common with almoſt all princes. The predeceſſors of Gregory VII. had been accuſtomed, on their part, to ſend legates to the emperors, in order to entreat their aſſiſtance, to obtain their confirmation, or deſire them to come and receive the papal ſanction, but for no other purpoſe. Gregory, however, ſent two legates to ſummon Henry to appear before him as a delinquent, becauſe he ſtill continued to beſtow inveſtitures, notwithſtanding the apoſtolic de-

cree

LET. XIX. cree to the contrary; adding, that if he ſhould fail to yield obedience to the church, he muſt expect to be excommunicated and dethroned.

INCENSED at this arrogant meſſage from one whom he conſidered as his vaſſal, Henry diſmiſſed the legates with very little ceremony, and convoked an aſſembly
A. D. 1076. of all the princes and dignified eccleſiaſtics at Worms; where, after mature deliberation, they concluded, That Gregory having uſurped the chair of St. Peter by indirect means, infected the church of God with a great many novelties and abuſes, and deviated from his duty to his ſovereign in ſeveral ſcandalous attempts, the emperor, by that ſupreme authority derived from his predeceſſors, ought to diveſt him of his dignity, and appoint another in his place [20].

IN conſequence of this determination, Henry ſent an ambaſſador to Rome, with a formal deprivation of Gregory; who, in his turn, convoked a council, at which were preſent an hundred and ten biſhops, who unanimouſly agreed, that the pope had juſt cauſe to depoſe Henry; to diſſolve the oath of allegiance which the princes and ſtates had taken in his favour; and to prohibit them from holding any correſpondence with him on pain of excommunication, which was immediately fulminated againſt the emperor and his adherents. "In the name of Almighty God, and by your "authority," ſaid Gregory, "I prohibit Henry, "the ſon of our emperor Henry, from governing the "Teutonic kingdom, and Italy: I releaſe all Chriſ-"tians from their oath of allegiance to him; and "ſtrictly forbid all perſons from ſerving or attending "him as king [21]!"

THIS is the firſt inſtance of a pope's pretending to deprive a ſovereign of his crown (but it was too flattering to eccleſiaſtical pride to be the laſt!)—No prelate,

late, from the foundation of the church, had ever presumed to uſe ſo imperious a language as Gregory; for though Lewis the Debonaire had been depoſed by his biſhops, there was at leaſt ſome colour for that ſtep: they condemned Lewis, in appearance, only to do public penance. LET. XIX. A. D. 1076.

THE circular letters written by this pontiff, breathe the ſame ſpirit with his ſentence of depoſition. He there repeats, ſeveral times, that "biſhops are ſuperior to kings, and made to judge them!"—expreſſions alike artful and preſumptuous, and calculated for bringing in all the churchmen of the world to his ſtandard.

GREGORY knew well what conſequences would follow the thunder of the church. The German biſhops came immediately over to his party, and drew along with them many of the nobles: the flame of civil war ſtill lay ſmothering, and a bull properly directed was ſufficient to ſet it in a blaze. The Saxons, Henry's old enemies, made uſe of the papal diſpleaſure, as a pretence for rebelling againſt him. Even Guelfe, to whom the emperor had given the duchy of Bavaria, ſupported the malcontents with that power which he owed to his ſovereign's bounty: nay, thoſe very princes and prelates who had aſſiſted in depoſing Gregory, gave up their monarch to be tried by the pope; and his holineſs was ſolicited to come to Augſburgh for that purpoſe [22].

WILLING to prevent this odious trial at Augſburg, Henry took the unaccountable reſolution of ſuddenly paſſing the Alps at Tirol, accompanied only by a few domeſtics, to aſk abſolution of pope Gregory his oppreſſor, who was then in Canoſa, on the Appennine mountains; a fortreſs belonging to the counteſs, or ducheſs

LET. XIX. A. D. 1077.

ducheſs Matilda, whom I have already had occaſion to mention. At the gates of this place the emperor preſented himſelf as an humble penitent. He alone was admitted within the outer court; where, being ſtript of his robes, and wrapt in ſack-cloth, he was obliged to remain three days, in the month of January, barefooted and faſting, before he was permitted to kiſs the feet of his holineſs, who all that time was ſhut up with the devout Matilda, whoſe ſpiritual director he had long been, and, as ſome ſay, her gallant. But be that as it may, her attachment to Gregory, and her hatred to the Germans, was ſo great, that ſhe made over all her eſtates to the apoſtolic ſee; and this donation is the true cauſe of all the wars, which ſince that period have raged between the emperors and the popes. She poſſeſſed, in her own right, great part of Tuſcany, Mantua, Parma, Reggio, Placentia, Ferrara, Modena, Verona, and almoſt the whole of what is now called the patrimony of St. Peter, from Viterbo to Orvieto; together with part of Umbria, Spoleto, and the Marche of Ancona[23].

THE emperor was at length permitted to throw himſelf at the pontiff's feet, who condeſcended to grant him abſolution, after he had ſworn obedience to him in all things, and promiſed to ſubmit to his ſolemn deciſion at Augſburg; ſo that Henry got nothing but diſgrace by his journey; while Gregory, elated by his triumph, and now looking upon himſelf (not altogether without reaſon) as the lord and maſter of all the crowned heads in Chriſtendom, ſaid in ſeveral of his letters, that it was his duty "to pull down "the pride of kings."

THIS extraordinary accommodation gave much diſguſt to the princes of Italy. They never could forgive the inſolence of the pope, nor the abject humility

lity of the emperor. Happily however for Henry, their indignation at Gregory's arrogance overbalanced their deteſtation of his meanneſs. He took advantage of this temper; and by a change of fortune, hitherto unknown to the German emperors, he found a ſtrong party in Italy, when abandoned in Germany. All Lombardy took up arms againſt the pope, while he was raiſing all Germany againſt the emperor. LET. XIX.

GREGORY, on the one hand, made uſe of every art to get another emperor elected in Germany; and Henry, on his part, left nothing undone to perſuade the Italians to elect another pope. The Germans choſe Rodolph, duke of Suabia, who was ſolemnly crowned at Mentz; and Gregory, heſitating on this occaſion, behaved truly like the ſupreme judge of kings. He had depoſed Henry, but ſtill it was in his power to pardon that prince: he therefore affected to be diſpleaſed that Rodolph was conſecrated without his order; and declared, that he would acknowledge as emperor and king of Germany, him of the two competitors who ſhould be moſt ſubmiſſive to the Holy See[24]. A. D. 1073.

HENRY however, truſting more to the valour of his troops, than to the generoſity of the pope, ſet out immediately for Germany, where he defeated his enemies in ſeveral engagements: and Gregory ſeeing no hopes of ſubmiſſion, thundered out a ſecond ſentence of excommunication againſt him, confirming at the ſame time the election of Rodolph, to whom he ſent a golden crown, on which the following well-known verſe, equally haughty and puerile, was engraved: A. D. 1080.

Petra dedit Petro, Petrus diadema Rodolpho[25].

THIS donation was alſo accompanied with a prophetic anathema againſt Henry, ſo wild and extravagant,

LET. XIX.

gant, as to make one doubt, whether it was dictated by enthuſiaſm or prieſtcraft. After depriving him of *ſtrength in combat*, and condemning him *never to be victorious*, it concludes with the following remarkable apoſtrophe to St. Peter and St. Paul: "Make all men "ſenſible, that as you can bind and looſe every thing "in Heaven, you can alſo upon earth take from, or "give to every one, according to his deſerts, em- "pires, kingdoms, principalities—let the kings and "princes of the age then inſtantly feel your power, "that they may not dare to deſpiſe the orders of your "church; let your juſtice be ſo ſpeedily executed "upon Henry, that nobody may doubt but he falls "by your means, and not by chance[26]!"

IN order to avoid the effects of this ſecond excommunication, Henry took a ſtep worthy of himſelf. He aſſembled at Brixen, in the county of Tirol, about twenty German biſhops; who acting alſo for the biſhops of Lombardy, unanimouſly reſolved, that the pope, inſtead of having power over the emperor, owed him obedience and allegiance; and that Gregory VII. having rendered himſelf unworthy of the papal chair by his miſconduct and rebellion, ought to be depoſed from a dignity he ſo little deſerved. They accordingly degraded Hildebrand, and elected in his room Guibert, archbiſhop of Ravenna, a perſon of undoubted merit, who took the name of Clement III.

HENRY promiſed to put the new pope in poſſeſſion of Rome; but he was obliged, in the mean time, to employ all his forces againſt his rival Rodolph, who had re-aſſembled a large body of troops in Saxony. The two armies met near Merſburg, and both fought with great fury; but the fortune of the day ſeemed inclining to Rodolph, when his hand was cut off by the famous Godfrey of Bouillon, then in the ſervice of Henry,

Henry, and afterwards renowned by the conqueſt of Jeruſalem. Diſcouraged by the misfortune of their chief, the rebels immediately gave way; and Rodolph perceiving his end approaching, ordered the hand that was cut off to be brought him, and made a ſpeech to his officers on the occaſion, which could not fail to have an influence on the emperor's affairs. "Behold," ſaid he, "the hand with which I took the oath of al-"legiance to Henry; and which oath, at the inſti-"gation of Rome, I have violated, in perfidiouſly "aſpiring to an honour that was not my due[27]." LET. XIX.

THUS delivered from his formidable antagoniſt, Henry ſoon diſperſed the reſt of his enemies in Germany, and ſet out for Italy, in order to ſettle Clement in the papal chair. But the gates of Rome being ſhut againſt him, he was obliged to attack it in form. The ſiege continued upwards of two years; A. D. 1081. Henry, during that time, being obliged to quell ſome inſurrections in Germany. The city was at length carried by aſſault, and with difficulty ſaved from being pillaged; but Gregory was not taken: he retired into the caſtle of St. Angelo, and thence defied, and excommunicated the conqueror.

THE new pope was however conſecrated with the uſual ceremonies, and expreſſed his gratitude by A. D. 1084. crowning Henry, with the concurrence of the Roman ſenate and people[28]. Mean while the ſiege of St. Angelo was going on; but the emperor being called about ſome affairs into Lombardy, Robert Guiſcard took advantage of his abſence to releaſe Gregory, who died ſoon after at Salerno. His laſt words, borrowed from the ſcripture, were worthy of the greateſt ſaint: "I "have loved juſtice, and hated iniquity; therefore I "die in exile!"

HENRY

LET. XIX. HENRY did not long enjoy the ſucceſs of his Italian expedition, or that tranquility which might have been expected from the death of Gregory. Germany was involved in new troubles: thither he haſted with all expedition. The Saxons, his old enemies, had elected a king of the Romans, whom he defeated in ſeveral engagements, and whoſe blood attoned for his preſumption. Another pretender ſhared the ſame fate. Every thing yielded to the emperor's valour.

BUT while Henry was thus victorious in Germany, his enemies were buſy in embroiling his affairs in Italy. Not ſatisfied with Clement III. the emperor's pope, they had elected the abbot of Monte Caſſino, under the name of Victor III. and he dying in a ſhort time, they choſe in his room Urban II. who, in conjunction with the counteſs Matilda, ſeduced the emperor's ſon, Conrad, into a rebellion againſt his father.—It was this Urban who held the famous council of Clermont, of which I ſhall afterwards have occaſion to ſpeak, and where the firſt cruſade was reſolved upon.

CONRAD aſſumed the title of king of Italy, and was actually crowned by Anſelmo, archbiſhop of Milan; ſoon after which, he married the daughter of Roger, king of Sicily, and ſucceeded ſo well in his uſurpation, that the greater part of the Italian cities and nobles acknowledged him as their ſovereign. The emperor, therefore, deſpairing of being able to reduce his ſon to obedience, returned to Germany; where he aſſembled the princes, who put Conrad to the ban of the empire, and declared his brother Henry king of
A. D. 1099. the Romans [29]. An accommdation was made with the Saxons and Bavarians, and the emperor hoped to ſpend the latter part of his life in peace.

IN the mean time Conrad died; and Paſcal II. another

another Hildebrand, ſucceeded Urban in the ſee of Rome. This pope no ſooner found himſelf ſafely ſeated in the chair, than he called a council, to which he ſummoned the emperor; and as Henry did not obey the citation, he excommunicated him a-new for the ſchiſms which he had introduced into the church. But this vengeance, though ſufficiently ſevere, was gentle, in compariſon of that which Paſcal meditated and accompliſhed. He excited young Henry to rebel againſt his father, under pretence of defending the cauſe of the orthodox; alledging, that he was bound to take upon himſelf the reins of government, as he could neither acknowledge a king nor a father that was excommunicated [30]! LET. XIX. A. D. 1101.

In vain did the emperor uſe every paternal remonſtrance to diſſuade his ſon from proceeding to extremities: the breach became wider and wider, and both prepared for the deciſion of the ſword. But the ſon dreading his father's ſuperiority, and confiding in his tenderneſs, made uſe of a ſtratagem equally baſe and effectual: he threw himſelf unexpectedly at the emperor's feet, and begged pardon for his undutiful behaviour, which he imputed to the advice of evil counſellors. In conſequence of this ſubmiſſion, he was immediately taken into favour, and the emperor diſmiſſed his army. The ungrateful youth now bared his perfidious heart: he ordered his father to be confined, while he aſſembled a diet of his confederates, at which the pope's legate preſided, and repeated the ſentence of excommunication againſt the emperor Henry IV. who was inſtantly depoſed, and the parricide Henry V. proclaimed [31]. A. D. 1106.

The archbiſhops of Mentz and Cologne were ſent as deputies to the old emperor, to intimate his depoſition, and demand the crown, and other regalia.

LET. XIX. Henry received this deputation with equal ſurpriſe and concern; and finding the chief accuſation againſt him was, "the ſcandalous manner in which he had ſet biſhoprics to ſale," he thus addreſſed the unfeeling prelates: "If we have proſtituted the benefices of the "church for hire, you yourſelves are the moſt proper "perſons to convict us of that ſimony. Say then, I "conjure you, in the name of the eternal God! what "have we exacted, or what have we received, for "having promoted you to the dignities which you "now enjoy?" They acknowledged he was innocent, as far as regarded their preferment:—"and yet," continued he, "the archbiſhoprics of Mentz and Co-"logne being two of the beſt in our gift, we might "have filled our coffers by expoſing them to ſale. "We beſtowed them, however, on you, out of free "grace and favour;—and a worthy return you make "to our benevolence!—Do not, we beſeech you, "become abettors of thoſe who have lifted up their "hand againſt their lord and maſter, in defiance of "faith, gratitude, and allegiance."

THE two archbiſhops, unmoved by this pathetic addreſs, inſiſted on his compliance with the purport of their errand; upon which he retired, and put on his royal ornaments; then returning to the apartment he had left, and ſeating himſelf on a chair of ſtate, he renewed his remonſtrance in theſe words: "Here are the marks of "that royalty with which we were inveſted by God "and the princes of the empire; if you diſregard the "wrath of Heaven, and the eternal reproach of man-"kind, ſo much as to lay violent hands on your ſove-"reign, you may ſtrip us of them; we are not in a "condition to defend ourſelves."

THIS ſpeech had no more effect than the former upon the unfeeling prelates, who inſtantly ſnatched the crown from

from his head; and dragging him from his chair, pulled off his royal robes by force. While they were thus employed, Henry exclaimed, "Great God!"—the tears trickling down his venerable cheeks—"thou "art the God of vengeance, and wilt repay this out-"rage. I have ſinned, I own, and merited ſuch "ſhame by the follies of my youth; but thou wilt "not fail to puniſh theſe traitors, for their perjury, "inſolence, and ingratitude [32]."

To ſuch a degree of wretchedneſs was this unhappy prince reduced by the barbarity of his ſon, that, being deſtitute of the common neceſſaries of life, he entreated Gertrad, biſhop of Spire, whom he had created, to grant him a canonicate for his ſubſiſtence, repreſenting that he was capable of performing the office of "chanter or reader;" which being denied, he ſhed a flood of tears, and turning to thoſe who were preſent, ſaid with a deep ſigh, "My dear friends, at leaſt "have pity on my condition; for I am touched by "the hand of the Lord [33]!"—The hand of man, at leaſt, was heavy upon him: for he was not only in want, but under confinement.

In the midſt of theſe diſtreſſes, when every one thought his courage was utterly extinguiſhed, and his ſoul overwhelmed by deſpondence, Henry found means to eſcape from his keepers, and reached Cologne, where he was recognized as lawful emperor. He next repaired to the Low Countries, where he found friends, who raiſed a conſiderable body of troops to facilitate his reſtoration: and he ſent circular letters to all the princes in Chriſtendom, in order to intereſt them in his cauſe. He even wrote to the pope, giving him to underſtand, that he was inclined to an accommodation, provided it could be ſettled without prejudice to his crown. But before any thing material

LET. XIX. could be executed in Henry's favour, he died at Liege, in the fifty-fixth year of his age, and the forty-ninth of his reign. He was a prince of great courage, and excellent endowments both of body and mind. There was an air of dignity in his appearance that ſpoke the greatneſs of his ſoul. He poſſeſſed a natural fund of eloquence and vivacity; was of a mild and merciful temper; extremely charitable; and an admirable pattern of fortitude and reſignation[34].

A.D. 1110.

HENRY V. put the finiſhing ſtroke to his barbarous, unnatural, and hypocritical conduct, by cauſing his father's body, as the carcaſe of an excommunicated wretch, to be dug out of the grave where it was buried, in the cathedral of Leige, and be carried to a cave in Spire[35]. But notwithſtanding his obligations, and ſeeming attachment to the church, this parricidious zealot no ſooner found himſelf eſtabliſhed upon the imperial throne, than he maintained that right of inveſtiture, in oppoſition to which he had taken arms againſt his father, and the exerciſe of which was thought to merit anathemas ſo frightful, as to diſturb the ſacred manſions of the dead.

IN order to terminate this old conteſt, Henry invited the pope into Germany; but Paſcal, who was well acquainted with the emperor's haughty and implacable diſpoſition, thought proper to take a different route, and put himſelf under the protection of Philip I. king of France, who undertook to mediate an accommodation between the empire and the Holy See. A conference was accordingly held at Chalons, in Champagne, but without effect.

AFTER this unſucceſsful meeting, the pope held a
A.D. 1107. council at Troyes, and Henry convoked a diet at Mentz: the firſt ſupported Paſcal's pretenſions, and the

the laſt declared for the emperor's right of inveſtiture. LET. XIX.
But more weighty affairs demanding Henry's attention, the diſpute was laid aſide for a time. He was engaged for ſeveral years in wars with Hungary and Poland, which ended in the wearineſs of all parties, and left things nearly as at the beginning.

WHEN tired of fighting, Henry thought of diſputing: he was deſirous of ſettling his conteſt with the pope; and, leſt force ſhould be neceſſary, he entered Italy with an army of eighty thouſand men. A.D. 1111.
Paſcal received him with the greateſt appearance of cordiality, but would not renounce the claim of inveſtitures; and Henry finding himſelf deceived in his expectations, ordered the pope to be ſeized. The conſul put the citizens in arms, and a battle was fought within the walls of Rome. The Romans were defeated; and the carnage was ſo great, that the waters of the Tiber were ſtained with blood. Paſcal was taken priſoner, and became leſs inflexible: he crowned Henry, and confirmed him in the right of inveſtiture; dividing the hoſt with him, at the ſame time, in token of perfect reconciliation, and pronouncing the following anathema: "As this part of the vivifying body," breaking it, "is ſeparated from the other, "let him of us two, who ſhall infringe the treaty, "be ſeparated from the kingdom of Chriſt[36]!"

BUT Henry had no ſooner left Italy than it appeared, that the court of Rome was by no means ſincere in the conceſſions it had made; for though Paſcal himſelf ſtill preſerved the exteriors of friendſhip and good faith, a council of the Lateran, called by him, ſet aſide the bull touching the inveſtiture of benefices, and ordered the emperor to be excommunicated. The A.D. 1112.
clergy every where attempted to fill the vacant ſees,

LET. XIX. and the whole empire was again involved in trouble and diſſention.

A D. 1114. A rebellion broke out in Saxony, which Henry was enabled to quell by the valour of his nephew, Frederic, duke of Suabia and Alſace, whom he promoted to the ſupreme command of his army. In the
A D. 1115. mean time the counteſs Matilda dying, the emperor, as her neareſt relation, claimed the ſucceſſion, notwithſtanding the ſteps ſhe had taken in favour of the Holy See, alledging that it was not in her power to alienate her eſtates, which depended immediately upon the empire He therefore ſet out for Lombardy, and ſent ambaſſadors to Rome, beſeeching the pope to revoke the ſentence of excommunication which had been fulminated againſt him, expreſsly contrary to their laſt agreement.

PASCAL would not ſo much as favour the ambaſſadors with an audience; but convoked a council, in which his treaty with the emperor was a ſecond time condemned. Incenſed at ſuch arrogance, Henry advanced towards Rome, determined to make his authority reſpected; and the pope, well acquainted with his diſpoſition, took ſhelter among the Norman princes in Apulia, the new vaſſals and protectors of the church.

A. D. 1117. THE emperor entered Rome in triumph, and was crowned a ſecond time by Bardinus, archbiſhop of Prague, who attended him in this expedition. But Henry's preſence being neceſſary in Tuſcany, Paſcal privately returned to Rome, where he died in a few
A D. 1118. days; and on the third day after his deceaſe, cardinal Cajetan was elected his ſucceſſor, without the privity of the emperor, under the name of Gelaſius II.

ENRAGED

ENRAGED at this preſumption, Henry declared the election of Gelaſius void, and appointed in his place Bardinus, who aſſumed the name of Gregory VIII. revoked the ſentence of excommunication againſt the emperor, and confirmed his right of inveſtiture. Gelaſius, though ſupported by the Norman princes, was obliged to take refuge in France, where he died; and the archbiſhop of Vienne was elected in his room, by the cardinals then preſent, under the name of Calixtus II. LET. XIX. A. D. 1119.

CALIXTUS attempted an accommodation with Henry; which not ſucceeding, he called a council, and again excommunicated the emperor, the antipope, and their adherents. He next ſet out for Rome, where he was honourably received, and Gregory VIII. retired to Sutri, a ſtrong town, garriſoned by the emperor's troops. They were not, however, able to protect him from the fury of his rival. Calixtus, aſſiſted by the Norman princes, beſieged Sutri; and the inhabitants, afraid of the conſequences, delivered up Gregory, who was mounted, by his competitor, upon a camel, with his face towards the tail, and conducted through the ſtreets of Rome, amid the ſcoffs and inſults of the populace, as a prelude to his confinement for life[97]. A.D. 1120.

IN the mean time the ſtates of the empire, quite tired with this long quarrel between the popes and the emperors, unanimouſly ſupplicated Henry for peace: he referred himſelf entirely to their deciſion; and a diet being aſſembled at Wurtzburg, it was decreed, that an embaſſy ſhould be immediately ſent to the pope, deſiring that he would convoke a general council at Rome, by which all diſputes might be determined. Calixtus accordingly called the famous council, which was opened during Lent, and at which were

LET. XIX. preſent three hundred biſhops, and about ſeven hundred abbots.

THE ambaſſadors being heard before this grand aſſembly, the affair of inveſtitures was at length regulated by their conſent, in the following manner, viz. That the emperor ſhould leave the chapters and communities at liberty to fill up their own vacancies, without beſtowing inveſtitures with the croſs and the ring; that he ſhould reſtore all that he had unjuſtly taken from the church; that all elections ſhould be made in a canonical manner, in preſence of the emperor or his commiſſaries; and whatever diſputes might happen, ſhould be referred to the deciſion of the emperor, aſſiſted by the metropolitan and his ſuffragans; that the perſon elected ſhould receive from the emperor the inveſtiture of the fiefs and ſecular rights, not with the croſs, but with the ſceptre, and ſhould pay allegiance to him for theſe rights only [38].

THUS in ſubſtituting the *ſceptre* for the *croſs* and the *ring*, ended one of the moſt unhappy quarrels that ever deſolated Chriſtendom. But as no mention had been made in this accommodation, of the emperor's right to create popes, or to intermeddle in their election, Calixtus was no ſooner dead than the cardinals, clergy, and people of Rome, without the participation of Henry, proceeded to a new election, which was carried on with ſo much diſorder, that two perſons were elected at the ſame time; Theobald, called Celeſtin, and Lambert, biſhop of Oſtia, who aſſumed the name of Honorius II. and was confirmed in the papacy, on the voluntary reſignation of his competitor.

A. D. 1125. HENRY died at Utrecht ſoon after his accommodation

dation with Rome. He was a wiſe, politic, and reſolute prince; and excluſive of his unnatural behaviour to his father, was worthy of the imperial throne. He married Maud, or Matilda, daughter of Henry I. king of England, by whom he had no children; ſo that the empire was left without a head.—But a variety of objects demand your attention, before I carry further the affairs of Germany.

LETTER

BIBLIOTHECA BODLEIANA

LETTER XX.

ENGLAND, *from the Battle of* HASTINGS, *to the Death of* HENRY I.

LET. XX. A.D. 1066.

YOU have already, my dear Boy, ſeen the duke of Normandy victorious at Haſtings. Nothing could exceed the conſternation of the Engliſh, when informed of that unfortunate battle, the death of their king, and the ſlaughter of their principal nobility; and, that they might not have leiſure to recover themſelves, William immediately put himſelf in motion, firmly reſolved to terminate an enterpriſe, which celerity and vigour only could render finally ſucceſsful. He advanced by quick marches towards London, where his approach increaſed the general alarm, and the confuſions already prevalent in the Engliſh councils. The ſuperior clergy, who even then were moſtly French or Normans, began to declare in his favour; and the pope's bull, by which his enterpriſe was avowed and conſecrated, was now openly inſiſted on as a reaſon for general ſubmiſſion.

OTHER cauſes rendered it difficult, if not impoſſible, for the Engliſh to defend their liberties in this critical emergency. The people had, in a great meaſure, loſt all national pride and ſpirit, by their recent and long ſubjection to the Danes; and as Canute had, in the courſe of his adminiſtration, much abated the rigours of conqueſt, and had governed them equitably by their own laws, they regarded with leſs ſorrow the ignominy of a foreign yoke, and deemed the

inconveniencies of ſubjection leſs dreadful than thoſe of bloodſhed, war, and reſiſtance. A repulſe, which a body of Londoners received from five hundred Norman horſe, renewed the terror of the great defeat at Haſtings; the eaſy ſubmiſſion of all the inhabitants of Kent was an additional diſcouragement to them; and the burning of Southwark before their eyes made them dread a like fate to their capital. No man longer entertained any thoughts but of immediate ſafety and ſelf-preſervation.

STIGAND, archbiſhop of Canterbury, met the conqueror at Barkhamſtead, and made ſubmiſſions to him; and before he reached London, all the chief nobility, with Edgar Atheling, their lawful prince, came into William's camp, and declared their intention of yielding to his authority. They requeſted him to accept of the crown, which they now conſidered as vacant, and orders were immediately iſſued to prepare every thing for the ceremony of his coronation; which was accordingly performed in Weſtminſter-abbey, in preſence of the moſt conſiderable of the nobility, both Engliſh and Norman, with ſeeming ſatisfaction [1].

WILLIAM, thus poſſeſſed of the throne, by a pretended will of king Edward, and by an irregular election of the people, but ſtill more by force of arms, retired to Barking in Eſſex; where he received the ſubmiſſions of all the nobility, who had not attended his coronation, and whom he generally confirmed in the poſſeſſion of their lands and dignities, forfeiting only the eſtates of Harold, and a few of thoſe who had been moſt active in his cauſe. Every thing wore the aſpect of peace and tranquility. The king ſeemed ſolicitous to unite in an amicable manner the Normans and Engliſh, by intermarriages and alliances; and all his new ſubjects, who approached his perſon, were received with

Let. XX. with affability and regard. No ſigns of ſuſpicion appeared even towards his competitor, Edgar Atheling, whom he confirmed in the honours of earl of Oxford, conferred on him by Harold, and whom he affected to treat with the higheſt kindneſs, as nephew to the Confeſſor, his great friend and benefactor. He confirmed the liberties and immunities of London, and the other cities of England; and ſeemed, in a word, deſirous of replacing every thing on ancient eſtabliſhments. In his whole adminiſtration he bore the ſemblance of the lawful prince, not of the conqueror; ſo that the Engliſh began to flatter themſelves, they had only changed the ſucceſſion of their ſovereigns, a matter to them of little concern, not the form of their government.

But notwithſtanding this confidence and friendſhip, which William expreſſed for his new ſubjects, he took care to place all real power in the hands of the Normans, and ſtill to keep poſſeſſion of that ſword to which he owed his crown. He every where diſarmed the inhabitants; he built fortreſſes in all the principal cities, where he quartered Norman ſoldiers; he beſtowed the forfeited eſtates on the moſt powerful of his captains, and eſtabliſhed funds for the payment of his troops. While his civil adminiſtration wore the face of the legal magiſtrate, his military inſtitutions were thoſe of a maſter and a tyrant; he left no power able to reſiſt or oppoſe him: and by this mixture of rigour and lenity, he ſubdued and compoſed the minds of the Engliſh to ſuch a degree, that he ventured to viſit his native country within ſix months after he had left it [2].

Various reaſons have been aſſigned by hiſtorians for this extraordinary journey; for extraordinary it certainly was in William, as Normandy remained in perfect tranquility, to abſent himſelf ſo ſoon after the conqueſt

conqueſt of a great, warlike, and turbulent nation. Some have aſcribed it to a vain oſtentation, which made him impatient to diſplay his pomp and magnificence among his ancient courtiers; while others, ſuppoſing him incapable of ſuch a weakneſs, affirm, that in this ſtep, apparently ſo extravagant, he was guided by a concealed policy; that finding he could neither ſatisfy his rapacious captains, nor ſecure his unſtable government, without exerting further the rights of conqueſt, and ſeizing the poſſeſſions of the Engliſh, he left them to the mercy of an inſolent and licentious army, in order to try their ſpirit, to provoke them to rebellion, and to give a colour to his intended violence. For my own part, I can ſee no reaſon why William, ſolid as his genius was, may not have been equally influenced by both theſe motives in his journey to Normandy. But whatever was the cauſe, the effect is certain: the Engliſh revolted in conſequence of the Conqueror's abſence; and he thenceforth either embraced, or was more fully confirmed in his reſolution of ſeizing their poſſeſſions, and of reducing them to the moſt abject ſlavery. LET. XX.

BUT although the natural violence and ſeverity of William's temper made him incapable of feeling any ſcruples in the execution of this tyrannical purpoſe, he had art enough to conceal his intention, and to preſerve ſtill ſome appearance of juſtice in his oppreſſions. He was prevailed on to pardon the rebels, who threw themſelves on his mercy; and he ordered all the Engliſh, who had been arbitrarily expelled by the Normans during his abſence, to be reſtored to their eſtates. The public diſcontents, however, daily increaſed; and the injuries committed and ſuffered on both ſides, rendered the quarrel between the conquerors and the conquered incurable. The inſolence A. D. 1067.

of

LET. XX. of victorious maſters, diſperſed throughout the kingdom, ſeemed intolerable to the natives, who took every opportunity to gratify their vengeance by the ſlaughter of their enemies. But an inſurrection in the
A. D. 1068. North drew the general attention, and ſeemed to promiſe more important conſequences.

EDWIN and Morcar, the potent earls of Mercia and Northumberland, were at the head of this rebellion; and theſe warlike noblemen, before they took arms, ſtipulated for aid from Blethin prince of North-Wales, Malcolm king of Scotland, and Sweyn king of Denmark. Senſible of the importance of celerity in quelling an inſurrection ſupported by ſuch powerful leaders, and ſo agreeable to the wiſhes of the people, William, who had always his troops in readineſs, advanced with great ſpeed to the North, and reached York before the rebels were in any condition of reſiſtance, or had received any foreign aid, except a ſmall reinforcement from Wales. The two earls, therefore, found no other means of ſafety, but in having recourſe to the clemency of the victor; and the people, thus deſerted by their leaders, were unable to make any farther reſiſtance. But the treatment of the chieftains and their followers was very different: William obſerved religiouſly the terms granted to the former, and allowed them for the preſent to keep poſſeſſion of their eſtates; but he extended the rigour of his confiſcations over the latter, and gave away their lands to his foreign adventurers, whom he planted through the whole country [3].

THE Engliſh were now ſenſible, that their final deſtruction was intended; and that inſtead of a ſovereign, whom they had at firſt hoped to gain by their ſubmiſſions, they had tamely ſurrendered themſelves, without reſiſtance, to a tyrant and a conqueror. The early

early confiſcation of Harold's followers ſeemed iniquitous, as being extended towards men who had never ſworn fealty to the duke of Normandy, and who only fought in defence of the government which they themſelves had eſtabliſhed in their own country: yet theſe rigours, however contrary to the antient Saxon laws, were excuſed on account of the urgent neceſſities of the prince, and thoſe who were not involved in that forfeiture, hoped to enjoy unmoleſted their poſſeſſions and their dignities; but the ſucceſſive deſtruction of ſo many families convinced them, that the king intended to rely entirely on the ſupport and affection of foreigners, and they foreſaw new forfeitures, attainders, and violences, as the neceſſary reſult of this deſtructive plan of adminiſtration. LET. XX.

IMPRESSED with a ſenſe of their diſmal ſituation, many Engliſhmen fled into foreign countries, with an intention of paſſing their lives abroad, free from oppreſſion, or of returning on a favourable opportunity, to aſſiſt their friends in recovery of their native liberties. Edgar Atheling himſelf, dreading the inſidious carreſſes of William, made his eſcape into Scotland, and carried thither his two ſiſters Margaret and Chriſtina. They were well received by Malcolm, then king of that country, who ſoon after eſpouſed Margaret, the elder ſiſter; and partly with a view of ſtrengthening his kingdom by the acceſſion of ſo many ſtrangers, partly in hopes of employing them againſt the growing power of William, he gave great countenance to all the Engliſh exiles[4]. Many of them ſettled in Scotland, and there laid the foundations of families, which afterwards made a figure in that kingdom.

WHILE the Engliſh laboured under thoſe oppreſſions, new attempts were made for the recovery of their liberties. Godwin, Edmond, and Magnus, three

LET. XX.

three ſons of Harold, had ſought a retreat in Ireland, after the defeat at Haſtings; and having met with a kind reception from Dermot, and other princes of that country, they projected an invaſion of England, and hoped that all the exiles from Denmark, Scotland, and Wales, aſſiſted by forces from theſe ſeveral countries, would at once commence hoſtilities, and rouſe the indignation of the Engliſh againſt their haughty conquerors. They landed in Devonſhire, but found a body of Normans ready to oppoſe them; and being defeated in ſeveral rencounters, they were obliged to retreat to their ſhips, and return with great loſs into Ireland. The ſtruggle, however, was not over; all the North was ſoon in arms. The Northumbrians, impatient of ſervitude, had attacked Robert de Comyn, governor of Durham, and put him and ſeven hundred of his followers to death. This example animated the inhabitants of York, who ſlew Robert Fitz-Richard their governor, and beſieged in the caſtle William Mallet, on whom the command devolved. About the ſame time the Daniſh ſuccours landed from three hundred veſſels, under the command of Oſberne, brother to king Sweyn, and accompanied by Harold and Canute, the two ſons of that monarch. Edward Atheling alſo appeared from Scotland, and brought along with him a great many Engliſh noblemen, who had ſhared his exile, and who eaſily excited the warlike and diſcontented Northumbrians to a general inſurrection. The better to provide for the defence of the citadel of York, Mallet ſet fire to ſome neighbouring houſes. But that expedient proved his ruin. The flames ſpreading into the adjacent ſtreets, reduced the whole city to aſhes; and the enraged inhabitants, aided by the Danes, took advantage of the confuſion to attack the fortreſs, which they carried by aſſault, and put the garriſon, amounting to three thouſand men, to the ſword. This ſucceſs proved a ſignal to many other

A. D. 1069.

parts

parts of the kingdom; and the Engliſh, every where repenting of their former eaſy ſubmiſſion, ſeemed determined to make one great effort for the recovery of their liberty and the expulſion of their oppreſſors[5]. LET. XX.

UNDISMAYED amid this ſcene of confuſion, William aſſembled his forces, and animating them by the proſpect of new confiſcations and forfeitures, marched againſt the inſurgents in the North, whom he conſidered as moſt formidable. Not chuſing, however, to truſt entirely to force, he endeavoured to weaken the rebels by detaching the Danes from them; and he accordingly prevailed on Oſberne by large preſents, and the liberty of plundering the ſea-coaſt, to deſert his engagements. Many Engliſh noblemen in deſpair followed the example, made ſubmiſſions to the Conqueror, and were taken into favour. Malcolm, the Scottiſh king, coming too late to ſupport his confederates, was obliged to retire; and the Normans found themſelves once more undiſputed maſters of the kingdom. Edgar Atheling, and his followers, ſought again an aſylum in Scotland; but deſpairing of ſucceſs, and weary of a fugitive life, that prince afterwards ſubmitted to his enemy, and was permitted to live unmoleſted in England[6]. A.D. 1070.

WILLIAM's ſeeming clemency, however, proceeded only from artifice, or from his eſteem of individuals: his heart was hardened againſt all compaſſion towards the Engliſh as a people; and he ſcrupled no meaſure, how violent or ſevere ſoever, which ſeemed requiſite to ſupport his plan of tyrannical adminiſtration. Senſible of the reſtleſs diſpoſition of the Northumbrians, he determined to incapacitate them for ever from moleſting him, and iſſued orders for laying waſte that fertile country, which, to the extent of ſixty miles, lies between the Humber and the Tees[7]. The houſes

LET. XX. were reduced to aſhes by the unfeeling Normans; the cattle were ſeized and driven away; the inſtruments of huſbandry were deſtroyed; and the inhabitants were compelled either to ſeek a ſubſiſtance in the ſouthern parts of Scotland, or to periſh miſerably in the woods from cold and hunger, which many of them choſe rather to do than abandon their native ſoil. The lives of an hundred thouſand perſons are computed to have been ſacrificed to this ſtroke of barbarous policy[8]; which, by ſeeking a remedy for a temporary evil, inflicted a laſting wound on the power and populouſneſs of the nation.

But William was now determined to proceed to extremities againſt all the natives of England; and to reduce them to a condition, in which they ſhould be no longer formidable to his government. The inſurrections and conſpiracies in different parts of the kingdom, had involved the bulk of the landholders, more or leſs, in the guilt of treaſon; and the king took advantage of executing againſt them, with the utmoſt rigour, the laws of forfeiture and attainder. Their lives were commonly ſpared; but their eſtates were confiſcated, and either annexed to the royal domains, or conferred with the moſt profuſe bounty on the Normans and other foreigners. Any ſuſpicions ſerved as the moſt undoubted proofs of guilt, againſt a people thus devoted to deſtruction. It was crime ſufficient in an Engliſhman to be opulent, noble, or powerful; and the policy of the king concurring with the rapacity of needy adventurers, produced an almoſt total revolution in the landed property of the kingdom. Ancient and honourable families were reduced to beggary: the nobles were every where treated with ignominy and contempt; they had the mortification to ſee their caſtles and manors poſſeſſed by Normans of the meaneſt condition, and to find themſelves excluded from

from every road that led either to riches or preferment [9].

POWER naturally follows property: this change of landholders alone therefore gave great ſecurity to the Normans; but William took alſo care, by the new inſtitutions that he eſtabliſhed, to retain for ever the military authority in thoſe hands which had enabled him to ſubdue the kingdom. He introduced into England the feudal polity, which he found eſtabliſhed in France and Normandy; and which, during that age, was the foundation both of the ſtability and of the diſorders in moſt of the monarchical governments of Europe. He divided all the lands of England, with few exceptions, beſides the royal domains, into baronies; and he conferred theſe, with the reſervation of ſtated ſervices and payments, on the moſt conſiderable of his followers. The barons, who held immediately of the crown, ſhared out part of their lands to other foreigners, who were denominated knights or vaſſals, and who paid their lord the ſame duty, and ſubmiſſion, in peace and war, which he owed to his ſovereign. None of the native Engliſh were admitted into the firſt rank; the few who retained any landed property were, therefore, glad to be received into the ſecond, and under the protection of ſome powerful Norman, to load themſelves and their poſterity with a grievous ſervitude, for eſtates which had been tranſmitted free to them from their anceſtors [10].

WILLIAM's next regulations regarded the church. He depoſed Stigand, the primate, and ſeveral other Engliſh biſhops, by the aſſiſtance of Ermonfroy, the pope's legate; and as it was a fixed maxim in this reign, as well as in ſome of the ſubſequent, that no native of the iſland ſhould ever be advanced to any

LET. XX. dignity, eccleſiaſtical, civil, or military, the king promoted Lanfranc, a Milaneſe monk, to the ſee of Canterbury. This prelate profeſſed the moſt devoted attachment to Rome, which henceforth daily increaſed in England, and became very dangerous to ſome of William's ſucceſſors; but the arbitrary power of the Conqueror over the Engliſh, and his extenſive authority over the Normans, kept him from feeling any inconveniencies from it. He retained the clergy in great ſubjection, as well as his lay-ſubjects; and would allow no one of whatever character to diſpute his ſovereign will and pleaſure. None of his miniſters or barons, whatever offences they were guilty of, muſt be ſubjected to ſpiritual cenſures, till his conſent was obtained. He prohibited his ſubjects to acknowledge any one for pope, which he himſelf had not received; he required, that all eccleſiaſtical canons voted in any ſynod, ſhould firſt be laid before him, and be ratified by his authority; even bulls or letters from Rome, before they were produced, muſt receive the ſame ſanction: and when the imperious Gregory VII. whom you have ſeen tyrannizing over kings and emperors, wrote to this monarch, requiring him to fulfil his promiſe of doing homage for the kingdom of England to the ſee of Rome, and to ſend him over that tribute (meaning Peter's pence, a charitable donation of the Saxon princes, which the court of Rome, as uſual, was inclined to conſtrue into a badge of ſubjection acknowledged by the kingdom) that his predeceſſors had been accuſtomed to pay to the vicar of Chriſt, William coolly replied, that the money ſhould be remitted as formerly, but that he neither had promiſed to do homage to Rome, nor entertained any thoughts of impoſing that ſervitude on his ſtate. Nay he went ſo far as to refuſe the Engliſh biſhops liberty to attend a general council, which Gregory had ſummoned againſt his enemies [11].

THE following anecdote ſhews, in a ſtill ſtronger light, the contempt of this prince for eccleſiaſtical dominion. Odo, biſhop of Baieux, the king's maternal brother, whom he had created earl of Kent, and entruſted with a great ſhare of power, had amaſſed immenſe riches; and, agreeable to the uſual progreſs of human wiſhes, he began to regard his preſent acquiſitions only as a ſtep to future grandeur. He aſpired at nothing leſs than the papacy; and had reſolved to tranſmit all his wealth to Italy, and to go thither himſelf, accompanied by ſeveral noblemen, whom he had perſuaded to follow his example, in hopes of eſtabliſhments under the future pope. William, from whom this project had been carefully concealed, was no ſooner informed of it, than he accuſed Odo of treaſon, and ordered him to be arreſted; but nobody would lay hands on the biſhop. The king himſelf was therefore obliged in perſon to ſeize him; and when Odo inſiſted, that, as a prelate, he was exempted from all temporal juriſdiction, William boldly replied, "I arreſt not the biſhop: I arreſt the earl!" and accordingly ſent him priſoner into Normandy, where he was detained in cuſtody, during this whole reign, notwithſtanding the remonſtrances and menaces of Gregory [12].

BUT the Engliſh had the cruel mortification to find, that their king's authority, however worthy of a ſovereign, all tended to their oppreſſion, or to perpetuate their ſubjection. William had even entertained the difficult project of totally aboliſhing their language. He ordered the youth to be inſtructed in the French tongue, in all the ſchools throughout the kingdom: the pleadings in the ſupreme courts of judicature were in French; the deeds were often drawn in the ſame language; the laws were compoſed in that idiom: no other tongue was uſed at court: it became

LET. XX. the language of all fashionable societies; and the English themselves affected to excel in it [13]. To this attempt of the Conqueror, and to the foreign dominions so long annexed to the crown of England, we owe that predominating mixture of French at present to be found in our language.

WHILE William was thus wantonly exercising his tyranny over England, his foreign affairs fell into disorder; and the English had an opportunity of at once recovering their military character, and of taking
A. D. 1073. vengeance on part of their foreign oppressors. Fulk, count of Anjou, had seized on the province of Maine, which had fallen under the dominion of the duke of Normandy, by the will of Herbert, the last count; but William, by the assistance of his new subjects, soon obliged the inhabitants, who had revolted, to return to their duty, and the count of Anjou to renounce his pretensions [14].

THE king now passed some years in Normandy, where his presence was become necessary on account of the turbulent disposition of his son Robert, who openly aspired at independency, and claimed the duchies of Normandy and Maine, during his father's life-time. William gave him a positive refusal, repeating that homely saying, that he never intended to throw off his cloaths till he went to bed; and he accordingly called over an army of English, under
A. D. 1079. his ancient captains, who soon expelled Robert and his adherents. The prince took shelter in the castle of Gerberoy in the Beauvoisis, which the king of France, who secretly favoured his pretensions, had provided for him. In this fortress he was closely besieged by his father, against whom he made a gallant defence; and under the walls of that place many rencounters passed, which resembled more the single combats

combats of chivalry, than the military operations of armies. One of them was too remarkable, by its circumſtances and its event, to be omitted. Robert happened to encounter the king; who being concealed by his helmet, a fierce combat enſued. But at laſt the prince wounded his father in the arm, and threw him from his horſe; when calling for aſſiſtance, his voice diſcovered him to his ſon; who, ſtruck with a ſenſe of remorſe, duty, and the dread of greater guilt, inſtantly flung himſelf at the feet of his king and father, craved pardon for his offences, and offered to purchaſe forgiveneſs by any atonement. A return of kindneſs, however, did not immediately enſue: William's reſentment was too obſtinate at once to yield; but a reconciliation was ſoon brought about by the interpoſition of the queen, and other common friends[t].

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THE peaceable ſtate of William's affairs now gave him leiſure to finiſh an undertaking which proves his great and extenſive genius, and does honour to his memory: it was a general ſurvey of all the lands of England; their extent in each diſtrict; their proprietors, tenures, value; the quantity of meadow, paſture, wood, and arable land, which they contained; and in ſome counties, the number of tenants, cottagers, and ſlaves of all denominations, who lived upon them. This valuable piece of antiquity, called the Domeſday-book, is ſtill preſerved in the Exchequer, and helps to illuſtrate to us the ancient ſtate of England.

A. D. 1081.

WILLIAM, like all the Normans, was much addicted to hunting; and this pleaſure he cruelly indulged at the expence of his unhappy ſubjects. Not contented with thoſe large foreſts, which the Saxon kings poſſeſſed in all parts of England, he reſolved to make a new foreſt near Wincheſter, the uſual place of his reſidence; and for that purpoſe, he laid waſte the coun-

LET. XX.

try in Hampſhire for an extent of thirty miles, expelling the inhabitants from their houſes, ſeizing their property, and demoliſhing churches and convents, without making the ſufferers any compenſation for the injury [16]. He alſo increaſed the ſeverity of the game-laws, now become ſo oppreſſive.

THIS monarch's death was occaſioned by a quarrel not altogether worthy of his life. A witticiſm gave riſe to a war. William, who was become corpulent, had been detained in bed ſome time by ſickneſs, while in Normandy; which gave Philip I. of France occaſion to ſay, with that vivacity natural to his country, that he was ſurpriſed his brother of England ſhould be ſo long in being delivered of his big belly. William ſent him word, that, as ſoon as he was up, he would preſent ſo many lights at Notre-dame, as would give little pleaſure to the king of France; alluding to the uſual practice, at that time, of women carrying a torch to church, after child-birth. Accordingly on his recovery, he led an army into the Iſle of France, and laid every thing waſte with fire and ſword: but the progreſs of theſe hoſtilities was ſtopt, by an accident which put an end to the Conqueror's life. His horſe ſuddenly ſtarting aſide, he bruiſed his belly on the pummel of his ſaddle; and this bruiſe, joined to his former bad habit of body, brought on a mortification, of which he died, in the ſixty-third year of his age. He left Normandy and Maine to his eldeſt ſon, Robert; he wrote to Lanfranc, deſiring him to crown William king of England; and he bequeathed to Henry, the youngeſt of the three, the poſſeſſions of his mother Matilda.

A. D. 1087.

THE characters of princes are beſt ſeen in their actions: I ſhall, however, give you a conciſe character

ter of the Conqueror, as drawn by Mr. Hume, whoſe excellent hiſtory you muſt peruſe attentively, when you come to ſtudy more particularly the progreſs of the Britiſh conſtitution. The ſpirit of William, ſays the philoſophic hiſtorian, was bold and enterpriſing, yet guided by prudence; and his exorbitant ambition, which lay little under the reſtraints of juſtice, and ſtill leſs under thoſe of humanity, ever ſubmitted to the dictates of reaſon and ſound policy. Though not inſenſible to generoſity, he was hardened againſt compaſſion; and he ſeemed equally oſtentatious, and ambitious of eclat, in his clemency and in his ſeverity. LET. XX.

WILLIAM II. ſurnamed Rufus, or the Red, from the colour of his hair, was inſtantly crowned king of England, in conſequence of his father's recommendatory letters to Lanfranc, the primate; and Robert, at the ſame time, took peaceable poſſeſſion of Normandy.

BUT this partition of the Conqueror's dominions, though apparently made without any violence or oppoſition, occaſioned in England many diſcontents, which ſeemed to promiſe a ſudden revolution. The Norman barons, who generally poſſeſſed large eſtates both in England and their own country, were uneaſy at the ſeparation of thoſe territories, and foreſaw that as it would be impoſſible for them to preſerve long their allegiance to two maſters, they muſt neceſſarily reſign either their ancient property or their new acquiſitions. Robert's title to Normandy they eſteemed inconteſtable; his claim to England they thought plauſible; and they all deſired that this prince, who alone had any pretenſions to unite the duchy and kingdom, might be put in poſſeſſion of both [1].

A COM-

LET. XX. A COMPARISON between the perſonal qualitities of the two princes, alſo led the malcontents to prefer the elder. Robert was brave, open, ſincere, generous; whereas William, though not leſs brave than his brother, was violent, haughty, tyrannical, and ſeemed diſpoſed to govern more by fear than the love of his people. Odo, biſhop of Baieux, who had been releaſed from priſon on the death of the Conqueror, enforced all theſe motives with the diſſatisfied barons, and engaged many of them in a formal conA. D. 1088. ſpiracy to dethrone the king.

EXPECTING immediate ſupport from Normandy, the conſpirators haſtened to put themſelves in a military poſture; and William, ſenſible of his perilous ſituation, endeavoured to engage the affections of the native Engliſh; who zealouſly embraced his cauſe, upon receiving ſome general promiſes of good treatment, and leave to hunt in the royal foreſts, having now loſt all hopes of recovering their ancient liberties. By their means the king was enabled to ſubdue A. D. 1089. the rebels; but the Norman barons, who had remained faithful to him, only were the gainers: he paid no regard to the promiſes made to his Engliſh ſubjects, who ſtill found themſelves expoſed to the ſame oppreſſions, which they had undergone during the reign of the Conqueror, and which were augmented by the tyrannical temper of the preſent monarch. Even the privileges of the church, which were held ſo ſacred in thoſe days, were but a feeble rampart againſt William's uſurpations; yet the terror of his authority, confirmed by the ſuppreſſion of the late inſurrections, kept every one in ſubjection, notwithſtanding the murmurs of the eccleſiaſtics, and preſerved a general tranquility in England [18].

WILLIAM

WILLIAM even thought himſelf enabled to diſturb his brother in the poſſeſſion of Normandy, and bribed ſeveral Norman barons to favour his unjuſt claim. The duke had alſo reaſon to apprehend danger from the intrigues of his brother Henry, who inherited more of his father's money than his poſſeſſions, and had furniſhed Robert, during his preparations againſt England, with the ſum of three thouſand marks; in return for which ſlender ſupply, he had been put in poſſeſſion of the Cotentin, almoſt one-third of the duke's dominions. But theſe two brothers, notwithing their mutual jealouſies, now united, in order to defend their territories againſt the ambition of the king of England, who appeared in Normandy at the head of a numerous army; and affairs ſeemed to be come to extremity, when an accommodation was brought about by the interpoſition of the nobility. LET. XX. A. D. 1090.

PRINCE Henry, however, diſguſted at the terms of that agreement, in which he thought himſelf treated with neglect, retired to St. Michael's Mount, a ſtrong fortreſs on the coaſt of Normandy, and infeſted the neighbourhood with his incurſions. Robert and William, his two brothers, beſieged him in this place, and had nearly reduced him by the ſcarcity of water; when the elder, hearing of his brother's diſtreſs, granted him permiſſion to ſupply himſelf, and alſo ſent him ſome pipes of wine for his own table; a conduct which could only have been dictated by the generous but romantic ſpirit of chivalry, with which the duke was highly infected. Being reproved by William for this ill-timed generoſity, Robert replied, "What! ſhall I ſuffer my bro-"ther to die of thirſt?—Where ſhall we find another "brother, when he is gone?"

WILLIAM alſo during this ſiege, performed an act of

LET. XX. of generoſity leſs ſuited to his character. Riding out alone to ſurvey the fortreſs, he was attacked by two ſoldiers, and diſmounted. One of the ſoldiers drew his ſword, in order to diſpatch the king; when William exclaimed, "Hold knave! I am the king of Eng-"land." The ſoldier ſuſpended his blow, and raiſed the king from the ground; who charmed with the fellow's behaviour, rewarded him handſomely, and took him into his ſervice [19].

A.D. 1091. PRINCE Henry was at laſt obliged to capitulate; and being deſpoiled of all his dominions, wandered about for ſome time with very few attendants, and often in great poverty.

IN the mean time William was engaged in humbling the Scots and Welſh, who had infeſted England with their incurſions during his Norman expedition. He had alſo occaſion to quell a conſpiracy of his own ba-
A.D. 1095. rons, who meant to exalt to the throne Stephen, count of Aumale, nephew to the Conqueror. But the noiſe of theſe petty wars and commotions was quite ſunk in the tumult of the Cruſades, which then engroſſed the attention of all Europe, and have ſince employed the curioſity of mankind, as the moſt ſingular monument of human folly that ever appeared on the face of our globe. The cauſe and conſequences of theſe pious enterpriſes, I ſhall afterwards have occaſion to conſider: at preſent I ſhall only ſpeak of them as they affect the hiſtory of England.

ROBERT, duke of Normandy, impelled by the bravery and miſtaken generoſity of his ſpirit, had early inliſted himſelf in the firſt cruſade; but being always unprovided with money, he found it would be impoſſible for him, without ſome ſupply, to appear, in a manner ſuitable to his rank, at the head of his numerous

rous vaſſals, who, tranſported with the general fury, were deſirous of following him into Aſia. He therefore reſolved to mortgage, or to ſell his dominions, which he had not prudence to govern; and he offered them to his brother William (who kept aloof from all thoſe fanatical and romantic warriors) for ſo ſmall a ſum as ten thouſand marks [20]. The bargain was concluded, and William was put in poſſeſſion of Normandy and Maine; while Robert, providing himſelf with a magnificent train, ſet out for the Holy-land in purſuit of glory, and in full hopes of ſecuring his eternal ſalvation. LET. XX. A. D. 1096

In the mean time William, who regarded only the things of this world, was engaged in a quarrel with Anſelm, commonly called St. Anſelm, archbiſhop of Canterbury, a Piedmonteſe monk, whom he had called over in a fit of remorſe, and whom he wanted to deprive of his ſee for refractory behaviour. Anſelm appealed to Rome againſt the king's injuſtice, and affairs came to ſuch extremities, that the primate, finding it dangerous to remain in the kingdom, deſired permiſſion to retire beyond ſea. All his temporalities were confiſcated; but he was received with great reſpect by Urban II. who conſidered him alſo as a martyr in the cauſe of religion, and even threatened the king with the ſentence of excommunication, on account of his proceedings againſt the primate [21].

Anselm afterwards diſtinguiſhed himſelf in the council of Bari, where the famous diſpute between the Greek and Latin churches, relative to the *proceſſion* of the third perſon of the Trinity, was agitated, viz. Whether the Holy Ghoſt proceeds from the Father and the Son, or from the Father only. He alſo aſſiſted at a council at Rome, held in 1099, where ſpiritual cenſures were denounced againſt all eccleſiaſtics who did homage

LET. XX. to laymen for their benefices, and on all laymen who exacted ſuch homage. The arguments made uſe of on that occaſion, in favour of the clergy, are worthy of the ignorance of the age, and ſtrongly mark that groſs ſuperſtition into which the human mind was ſunk.

THE ceremony of homage, by the feudal cuſtoms, you know was, that the vaſſal ſhould throw himſelf on his knees, put his hands between thoſe of his ſuperior, and in that poſture ſwear fealty to him. Churchmen had been accuſtomed thus to do homage for their benefices. But this council declared ſuch homage inconſiſtent with the dignity of the ſacerdotal character, as well as with the independency of the church: "For," ſaid Urban, "it is execrable, that holy "hands, appointed to perform what was never granted to any angel, to create God the Creator, and offer "him to God, the Father, for the ſalvation of mankind, ſhould be reduced to the humiliating baſeneſs "of ſlaviſhly mingling with profane hands; which, "beſides being ſoiled with rapine and blood-ſhed, are "day and night employed in impure offices, and obſcene contacts[22]!"

THE fanaticiſm of the times afforded the king of England a ſecond opportunity of increaſing his dominions. Poitiers and Guienne were offered to be mortgaged to him, for the ſame pious purpoſe that had induced his brother Robert to part with Normandy and Maine. The bargain was concluded, and William had prepared a fleet and army to eſcort the money, and take poſſeſſion of his new territory, when an ac-
A. D. 1100. cident put an end to his life, and to all his ambitious projects. He was engaged in hunting, the ſole amuſement, and except war, the chief occupation of princes in thoſe rude times. Walter Tyrrel, a French gen-

tleman, remarkable for his addreſs in archery, attended him in this recreation, of which the New Foreſt was the ſcene; and as William had diſmounted after a chace, Tyrrel, impatient to ſhew his dexterity, let fly an arrow at a ſtag, which ſuddenly ſtarted before him. The arrow glancing againſt a tree, ſtruck the king in the heart, and inſtantly ſlew him; while Tyrrel, without informing any one of the accident, put ſpurs to his horſe, haſtened to the ſea-ſhore, embarked for France, and joined the cruſade in an expedition to the Holy-land [23]; a penance which he impoſed on himſelf for this involuntary crime, and which was deemed ſufficient to expiate crimes of the blackeſt die.

WILLIAM appears to have been a violent and tyrannical prince; a perfidious, encroaching, and dangerous neighbour; and an unkind and ungenerous relation. He built the Tower, Weſtminſter-hall, and London-bridge, monuments of his greatneſs, which ſtill remain. The moſt laudable foreign enterpriſe which he undertook, was the ſending of Edgar Atheling into Scotland with a ſmall army, to reſtore prince Edgar, the true heir of that crown, and ſon of Malcolm, and of Margaret, ſiſter of Edgar Atheling. The enterpriſe ſucceeded.

TOWARDS the latter part of this reign, Magnus king of Norway made a deſcent on the Iſle of Angleſea, but was repulſed by the earl of Shrewſbury; ſince which the northern nations have made no attempt againſt England.

As William Rufus was never married, and conſequently could leave no lawful iſſue, the kingdom of England now belonged to his brother Robert, both by the right of birth and of treaty; but as prince Henry was hunting in the New Foreſt when the king was ſlain,

LET. XX. ſlain, he immediately galloped to Wincheſter, ſecured the royal treaſure, was ſaluted king, and proceeded to the exerciſe of the ſovereign dignity. Senſible however, that a crown uſurped againſt all the rules of juſtice would ſit very unſteady on his head, Henry reſolved by fair profeſſions at leaſt to gain the affections of all his ſubjects. Beſides taking the uſual coronation oath, to maintain the laws, and to execute juſtice, he paſſed a charter, which was calculated to remedy many of the grievous oppreſſions complained of during the reign of his father and his brother; and he promiſed a general confirmation and obſervance of the laws of king Edward [24].

In order further to eſtabliſh himſelf on the throne, Henry recalled archbiſhop Anſelm, and reinſtated him in the ſee of Canterbury. He alſo married Matilda, daughter of Malcolm III. king of Scotland, and niece to Edgar Atheling; which marriage, more than any other action of his reign, tended to endear Henry to his Engliſh ſubjects, who had felt ſo ſeverely the tyranny of the Normans, that they reflected with infinite regret on their former liberty, and hoped for a more equal and mild adminiſtration, when the blood of their native princes ſhould be united with that of their new ſovereigns [25]. But the policy and prudence of Henry ran great hazard of being fruſtrated by the ſudden appearance of his brother Robert, who returned from the Holy-land about a month after the death of William; took poſſeſſion of Normandy without reſiſtance, and made preparations for aſſerting his title to England.

The great reputation which Robert had acquired in the Eaſt forwarded his pretenſions; and the Norman barons, ſtill impreſſed with the conſequences of the ſeparation of the duchy and the kingdom, diſcovered

covered the ſame diſcontent which had appeared on the acceſſion of Rufus. Henry was therefore in danger of being deſerted by all his ſubjects; and it was only by the exhortations of archbiſhop Anſelm, that they were engaged to oppoſe Robert, who had landed at Portſmouth. The two armies continued ſome days in ſight of each other without coming to action; and by the interpoſition of the ſame prelate, an accommodation was happily brought about between the brothers. LET. XX. A.D. 1101.

IN this treaty, it was agreed, that Robert ſhould reſign his pretenſions to England, and receive an annual penſion of three thouſand marks; that if either of the princes died without iſſue, the other ſhould ſucceed to his dominions; that the adherents of each ſhould be pardoned, and reſtored to all their poſſeſſions; and that neither the king, nor the duke, ſhould thenceforth countenance the enemies of each other[26]. But theſe conditions, though ſo favourable to Henry, were ſoon violated by his rapacity and ambition. He reſtored indeed the eſtates of Robert's adherents, but took care they ſhould not remain long in the undiſturbed poſſeſſion of them. Various pretences were formed for deſpoiling and humbling all whom he thought had either inclination or abilities to diſturb his government.

ENRAGED at the fate of his friends, Robert imprudently ventured into England, but met with ſuch a bad reception, that he became alarmed for his own ſafety, and was glad to purchaſe his eſcape with the loſs of his penſion. One indiſcretion followed another. The affairs of Normandy fell into confuſion: Henry went over, by invitation, to regulate them; but, inſtead of ſupporting his brother's authority, he increaſed the diſcontent by every art of bribery, intrigue, and inſinuation; and, at length, made himſelf maſter of the A.D. 1106.

LET. XX. duchy. The unfortunate Robert, who ſeemed only to be the ſport of fortune, was carried priſoner into England, where he remained in cuſtody during the remainder of his life, which was no leſs than twenty-eight years, and died a captive in the caſtle of Cardiff, in Glamorganſhire [27].

THE acquiſition of Normandy was a great point of Henry's ambition; being the antient patrimonial inheritance of his family, and the only territory which gave him any weight or conſideration on the continent. But the injuſtice of the uſurpation was the ſource of much inquietude, and the jealouſy of the French monarch gave riſe to thoſe wars, which were to prove ſo fatal to poſterity. Lewis VI. in concert with the counts of Anjou and Flanders, ſupported the claim of William, ſon of Robert, to the duchy of Normandy: he even craved the aſſiſtance of the church for reinſtating the true heir in his dominions, and repreſented the enormity of detaining in priſon ſo brave a prince as Robert, one of the moſt eminent champions of the Croſs. But Henry knew how to defend the rights of his crown with vigour, and yet with dexterity. He gained the pope and his favourites by liberal preſents
A. D. 1119. and promiſes; and Calixtus II. who was then in France, after a conference with Henry, declared, that of all men whom he had ever ſeen, the king of England was beyond compariſon the moſt *eloquent* and *perſuaſive* [28]! The complaints of the Norman prince were, thenceforth, diſregarded.

THE military operations of Lewis proved as unſucceſsful as his intrigues. The French and Engliſh armies engaged near Andeley, in Normandy; where a ſharp action enſued, in which William, the ſon of Robert, behaved with great bravery. Henry himſelf was in imminent danger. He was wounded in the head

head by a gallant Norman, named Criſpin, who had followed the fortunes of William; but, rather routed than intimidated by the blow, the king collected all his might, and beat his antagoniſt to the ground [49]. The Engliſh, animated by the example of their ſovereign, put the French to total rout; and an accommodation ſoon after took place between the two monarchs, in which the intereſts of young William were entirely neglected. LET. XX.

BUT Henry's public proſperity was much overbalanced by a domeſtic misfortune. His ſon William, who had attained his eighteenth year, had accompanied him into Normandy, but periſhed in his return, with all his retinue. The prince was anxious to get firſt to land; and the captain of his veſſel, being intoxicated with liquor, heedleſsly ran her on a rock, where ſhe was immediately daſhed to pieces. Above one hundred and forty young noblemen, of the principal families of England and Normandy, were loſt on this occaſion; and the king was ſo much affected by the news, that he is ſaid never to have ſmiled more [3]. A. D. 1120.

As prince William left no children, Henry had not any legitimate iſſue, except his daughter Matilda, whom he had betrothed when a child, to the emperor Henry V. who alſo dying without children, the king beſtowed his daughter on Geoffery Plantagenet, the eldeſt ſon of the count of Anjou, and endeavoured to ſecure her ſucceſſion, by having her recognized heireſs of all his dominions, and obliging the barons both of Normandy and England to ſwear fealty to her. She was ſoon after delivered of a ſon, who received the name of Henry; and the king, further to inſure her ſucceſſion, made all the nobility renew the oath of fealty which they had already ſworn to her. A. D. 1127.

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A.D. 1135.

The joy of this event, and the pleaſure of his daughter's company, made Henry take up his reſidence in Normandy; where he died in the ſixty-ſeventh year of his age, and the thirty-fifth of his reign, leaving his daughter Matilda heireſs of all his dominions. He was one of the moſt able and accompliſhed princes that ever filled the Engliſh throne, poſſeſſing all the qualities, both mental and perſonal, that could adorn the high ſtation to which he attained, or fit him for the government of an extenſive territory. His learning, which procured him the name of *Beau-clerc*, would have diſtinguiſhed him in private life, and his talents would have given him an aſcendant in any condition.

THE affairs of France, my dear Boy, and the Cruſades, which took their riſe in that kingdom, claim your attention, before I ſpeak of the diſputed ſucceſſion of Matilda, and of her ſon Henry II. commonly known by the name of Plantagenet, whoſe reign affords one of the moſt intereſting ſpectacles in the Hiſtory of England.

LETTER

LETTER XXI.

FRANCE, *under* PHILIP I. *and* LEWIS VI. *with ſome Account of the firſt* CRUSADE.

PHILIP I. as I have already obſerved [1], had been perfectly well educated, nor was he by any means deficient in point of capacity; but his mind had acquired a wrong bias, which diſcovered itſelf in all his actions, and ſwayed him upon all occaſions, to prefer his intereſt, or his inclinations, to his honour. His reign is not ſo remarkable for any thing, as his marrying Bertrand de Montfort, ducheſs of Anjou, while her huſband and his queen were both alive, for which he was excommunicated by Urban II. in the famous council of Clermont, where the firſt Cruſade was preached for the recovery of the Holy Land [2]; a circumſtance which naturally leads me to ſpeak of that extravagant expedition, its cauſes, and its conſequences. LET. XXI.

GREGORY VII. as has been already obſerved, among his other vaſt ideas, had formed the project of uniting the weſtern Chriſtians againſt the Mahometans, and of recovering Paleſtine from the hands of thoſe Infidels [3]; and his quarrels with the emperor Henry IV. by which he declared himſelf an enemy to the civil power of princes, only could have obſtructed the progreſs of this undertaking, conducted by ſo able a politician, at a time when the minds of men were ſo fully prepared for ſuch an enterpriſe. The work, however, was reſerved for a meaner inſtrument; for a man whoſe condition could excite no jealouſy, and whoſe head was as weak as his imagination was warm. But be-

LET. XXI. fore I mention this man, I muſt ſay a few words of the ſtate of the Eaſt at that time, and of the paſſion for pilgrimages, which then prevailed in Europe.

WE naturally view with veneration and delight thoſe places which have been the reſidence of any illuſtrious perſonage, or the ſcene of any great tranſaction: hence the enthuſiaſm with which the literati ſtill viſit the ruins of Athens and Rome; and hence flowed the ſuperſtitious devotion with which Chriſtians, from the earlieſt ages of the church, were accuſtomed to viſit that country, where their religion had taken its riſe, and that city in which the Meſſiah had died for the redemption of thoſe who believe in his name. Pilgrimages to the ſhrines of ſaints and martyrs were alſo common; but as this diſtant pilgrimage could not be performed without conſiderable expence, fatigue, and danger, it appeared (for theſe reaſons, as well as its ſuperior ſanctity) more meritorious than all others, and came to be conſidered as an expiation for almoſt every crime: and an opinion which prevailed over Europe towards the cloſe of the tenth, and the beginning of the eleventh century, increaſed the number and the ardour of the credulous devotees, that undertook this tedious journey. The thouſand years mentioned by St. John, in his book of Revelations, were ſuppoſed to be accompliſhed, and the end of the world at hand. A general conſternation ſeized the minds of Chriſtians; many relinquiſhed their poſſeſſions, abandoned their friends and families, and hurried with precipitation to the Holy Land, where they imagined Chriſt would ſuddenly appear to judge the quick and the dead *.

BUT the Chriſtians, in theſe pious journies, had the mortification to ſee the holy ſepulchre, and the other places made ſacred by the preſence of the Saviour,

our, fallen into the hands of Infidels. The followers and the countrymen of Mahomet, had early made themſelves maſters of Paleſtine, which the Greek empire, far in its decline, was unable to protect againſt ſo warlike an enemy. They gave little diſturbance, however, to thoſe zealous pilgrims, who daily flocked to Jeruſalem; and they allowed every perſon, after paying a moderate tribute, to viſit the holy ſepulchre, to perform his religious duties, and to return in peace. But the Turks, a Tartar tribe, who had alſo embraced Mahometiſm, having wreſted Syria from the Saracens, as you have ſeen, about the middle of the eleventh century, and made themſelves maſters of Jeruſalem, pilgrims were expoſed to outrages of every kind from theſe fierce barbarians; and this change coinciding with the panic of the conſummation of all things, and the ſuppoſed appearance of Chriſt on Mount Sion, filled Europe with alarm and indignation. Every perſon, who returned from Paleſtine, related the dangers which he had encountered in viſiting the holy city, and deſcribed, with exaggeration, the cruelty and vexations of the Turks; who, to uſe the language of thoſe zealots, not only profaned the ſepulchre of the Lord by their preſence, but derided the ſacred myſteries in the very place of their completion, and where the ſon of God was ſpeedily expected to judge the world [5].

WHILE the minds of men were thus rouſed, a fanatical monk, commonly known by the name of Peter the Hermit, a native of Amiens in Picardy, revived the project of Gregory VII. of leading all the forces of Chriſtendom againſt the Infidels, and of driving them out of the Holy Land. He had made the pilgrimage to Jeruſalem, and was ſo deeply affected with the danger to which that act of piety now expoſed Chriſtians, that he ran from province to province on his re-

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turn, with a crucifix in his hand, exciting princes and people to this holy war; and wherever he came, he kindled the ſame enthuſiaſtic ardour for it with which he himſelf was animated.

URBAN II. who had at firſt been doubtful of the ſucceſs of ſuch a project, at length entered into Peter's views, and ſummoned a council at Placentia, which was obliged to be held in the open fields, no hall being ſufficient to contain the multitude: it conſiſted of four thouſand eccleſiaſtics, and thirty thouſand ſeculars, who all declared for the war againſt the Infidels, but none of them heartily engaged in the enterprize. Urban therefore found it neceſſary to call another council the ſame year at Clermont in Auvergne, where the greateſt prelates, nobles, and princes, attended; and when the pope and the hermit had concluded their pathetic exhortations, the whole aſſembly, as if impelled by an immediate inſpiration, exclaimed with one voice: "It is the will of God!—It is the will "of God!"—words which were deemed ſo memorable, and believed to be ſo much the reſult of a divine influence, that they were employed as the motto on the ſacred ſtandard, and as the ſignal of rendezvous and battle in all the future exploits of the champions of the *Croſs*; the ſymbol choſen by the devoted combatants, as the badge of union, and affixed to their right ſhoulder: whence their expedition got the name of a Cruſade [6].

PERSONS of all ranks flew to arms with the utmoſt ardour: not only the gallant nobles of that age, with martial followers, whom the boldneſs of a romantic enterprize might have been apt to allure, but men in the more humble and pacific ſtations of life; eccleſiaſtics of every order; and even women, concealing their ſex beneath the diſguiſe of armour, engaged with

with emulation in an undertaking which was deemed ſo ſacred and meritorious. The greateſt criminals were forward in a ſervice, which they regarded as a propitiation for all their crimes: if they ſucceeded, they hoped to make their fortune in this world; and if they died, they were promiſed a crown of glory in the world to come. Devotion, paſſion, prejudice, and habit, all contributed to the ſame end; and the combination of ſo many cauſes produced that wonderful emigration which made the princeſs Anna Comnena ſay, that Europe looſened from its foundations, and impelled by its moving principle, ſeemed in one united body to precipitate itſelf upon Aſia [7].

THE number of adventurers ſoon became ſo great, that their more experienced leaders, Hugh, count of Vermandois, brother to the French king, Robert, duke of Normandy, Raymond, count of Thouloufe, Godfrey of Bouillon, prince of Brabant, and Stephen, count of Blois, became apprehenſive leſt the greatneſs of the armament ſhould defeat its purpoſe; ſo that they permitted an undiſciplined multitude, computed at three hundred thouſand men, to go before them, under the command of Peter the Hermit, Walter the Moneyleſs, and other wild fanatics.

PETER and his army, before which he walked with ſandals on his feet, and a rope about his waiſt, took the road to Conſtantinople, through Hungary and Bulgaria. Godeſcald, a German prieſt, and his banditti, took the ſame route; and truſting that Heaven, by ſupernatural means, would ſupply all their neceſſities, they made no proviſion for ſubſiſtence on their march: but they ſoon found themſelves obliged to obtain by plunder, what they had vainly expected from miracles. Want is ingenious in ſuggeſting pretences for its ſupply. Their fury firſt diſcharged itſelf upon the

LET. XXI. the Jews. As the ſoldiers of Jeſus Chriſt, they thought themſelves authoriſed to take revenge upon his murderers; and they accordingly fell upon theſe unhappy people, and put them to the ſword without mercy ſuch as would not ſubmit to baptiſm, ſeizing their effects as lawful prize. In Bavaria alone twelve thouſand Jews were maſſacred, and many thouſands in the other provinces of Germany. But Jews not being every where to be found, theſe pious robbers, who had taſted the ſweets of plunder, and were under no military regulations, pillaged without diſtinction; till the inhabitants of the countries through which they paſſed roſe, and cut them almoſt all off. The Hermit however, and the remnant of his army, conſiſting of twenty thouſand ſtarving wretches, at length reached Conſtantinople, where he received a freſh ſupply of German and Italian vagabonds, who were guilty of the greateſt diſorders, pillaging even the churches [8].

ALEXIS COMNENUS, the Greek emperor, who had applied to the Latins for ſuccour againſt the Turks, entertained hope, and but a feeble one, of obtaining ſuch an aid as might enable him to repulſe the enemy; but he was aſtoniſhed to ſee his dominions overwhelmed by an inundation of licentious barbarians, ſtrangers alike to order and diſcipline, and to hear of the multitudes that were following, under different leaders. He contented himſelf, however, with getting rid, as ſoon as poſſible, of ſuch troubleſome gueſts, by furniſhing them with veſſels to tranſport themſelves to the other ſide of the Boſphorus; and general Peter ſoon ſaw himſelf in the plains of Aſia, at the head of a Chriſtian army, ready to give battle to the Infidels. Soliman, ſultan of Nice, fell upon the diſorderly croud, and ſlaughtered them almoſt without reſiſtance. Walter the Moneyleſs, and many other leaders of equal diſtinction, were ſlain; but Peter the Hermit found his

his way back to Conſtantinople, where he was conſi- LET. XXI.
dered as a maniac, who had enliſted a multitude of madmen to follow him [9].

IN the mean time the more diſciplined armies arrived at the imperial city, and were joined by Bohemond, ſon of Robert Guiſcard, from motives of policy rather than piety. Having no other inheritance but the ſmall principality of Tarentum, and his own valour, he took advantage of the epidemical enthuſiaſm of the times to aſſemble under his banner ten thouſand horſemen, well armed, and ſome infantry, with which he hoped to conquer a few provinces either from the Chriſtians or Mahometans. His preſence gave much alarm to the emperor Alexis Comnenus, with whom he had been formerly at war; but the refined policy of that prince, who careſſed thoſe rapacious allies whom he wiſhed to ruin, and ſecretly regarded as more dangerous than the enemies they came to combat, diverted all inconveniency either from Bohemond, or the other leaders of the Cruſade. He furniſhed them all with proviſions, and tranſported them ſafely into Aſia, after conciliating their affections by preſents and promiſes, and engaging them to do him homage for the lands which they ſhould conquer from the Turks [10].

ASIA, like Europe, was then divided into a number of little ſtates, comprehended under the great ones. The Turkiſh princes paid an empty homage to the caliphs, but were in reality their maſters; and the ſultans, or ſoldans, who were very numerous, weakened ſtill further the empire of Mahomet by continual wars with each other, the neceſſary conſequence of divided ſway. The ſoldiers of the Croſs therefore, who, when muſtered on the banks of the Boſphorus, amounted to the incredible number of one hundred thouſand horſemen,

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men, and ſix hundred thouſand foot, were ſufficient to have conquered all Aſia, had they been united under one head, or commanded by leaders that obſerved any concert in their operations; but they were unhappily conducted by men of the moſt independent, intractable ſpirits, unacquainted with diſcipline, and enemies to civil or military ſubordination. Their zeal, however, their bravery, and their irreſiſtible force, ſtill carried them forward, and advanced them to the great end of their enterprize, in ſpite of every obſtacle; the ſcarcity of proviſions, the exceſſes of fatigue, and the influence of unknown climes. After an obſtinate ſiege, they took Nice, the ſeat of old Soliman, ſultan of Syria, whoſe army they had twice defeated: they made themſelves maſters of Antioch, the ſeat of another ſultan, and entirely broke the ſtrength of the Turks, who had ſo long tyranniſed over the Arabs [11].

THE caliph of Egypt, whoſe alliance the Chriſtians had hitherto courted, recovered, on the fall of the Turkiſh power, the authority of the caliphs in Jeruſalem; upon which he ſent ambaſſadors to the leaders of the Cruſade, informing them, that they might now perform their religious vows, if they came diſarmed to that city; and that all Chriſtian pilgrims, who ſhould thenceforth viſit the holy ſepulchre, might expect the ſame good treatment which they had ever received from his predeceſſors. His offer was, however, rejected: he was required to yield up the city to the Chriſtians; and, on his refuſal, the champions of the Croſs advanced to the ſiege of Jeruſalem, the great object of their armament, and the acquiſition of which they conſidered as the conſummation of their labours.

THESE piousadventurers were now much diminiſhed, by the detachments they had made, and the diſaſters they had undergone; and what is almoſt incredible,

dible, according to the teſtimony of moſt hiſtorians, they did not exceed twenty thouſand foot, and fifteen hundred horſe, while the garriſon of Jeruſalem conſiſted of forty thouſand men. But, be that as it may, after a ſiege of five weeks, they took the city by aſſault, and put the garriſon and inhabitants to the ſword without diſtinction. Arms protected not the brave, nor ſubmiſſion the timid: no age or ſex was ſpared: infants periſhed by the ſame ſword that pierced their mothers, while imploring mercy. The ſtreets of Jeruſalem were covered with heaps of ſlain; and the ſhrieks of agony or deſpair ſtill reſounded from every houſe, when thoſe triumphant warriors, glutted with ſlaughter, threw aſide their arms, yet ſtreaming with blood, and advanced with naked feet and bended knees to the ſepulchre of the Prince of Peace! ſung anthems to that Redeemer, who had purchaſed their ſalvation by his death; and, while dead to the calamities of their fellow creatures, diſſolved in tears for the ſufferings of the Meſſiah [12]!—So inconſiſtent is human nature with itſelf; and ſo eaſily, as the philoſophic Hume remarks, does the moſt effeminate ſuperſtition aſſociate both with the moſt heroic courage, and with the fierceſt barbarity.

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A. D. 1099.

ABOUT the ſame time that this great event happened in Aſia, when Godfrey of Bouillon was choſen king of Jeruſalem, and Bohemond, and ſome other Chriſtian princes, ſettled in their new conqueſts, Urban II. the author of the Cruſade, and the queen of France, died in Europe; in conſequence of which Philip I. who ſtill continued to live with the counteſs of Anjou, was abſolved, by the new pope, from the ſentence of excommunication denounced in the council of Claremont. But though this abſolution quieted in ſome meaſure his domeſtic troubles, his authority, which the thunder of the church, together with his indolent

LET. XXI. indolent and licentious courſe of life, had ruined, was far from being reſtored. The nobility more and more affected independency: they inſulted him every hour; plundered his ſubjects; and entirely cut off the communication between Paris and Orleans [13].

IN order to remedy theſe evils, Philip aſſociated his ſon Lewis in the government; or, at leaſt, declared him, with the conſent of the nobility, his ſucceſſor. This young prince was, in all reſpects, the reverſe of his father; active, vigorous, affable, generous, and free from the vices incident to youth. He ſaw that in a ſtate ſo corrupted, nothing could be done but by force: he therefore kept continually in the field, with a ſmall body of troops about him, and theſe he employed againſt ſuch nobles as would not liſten to the dictates of juſtice and equity, but treated the laws of their country with deriſion. He demoliſhed their caſtles; he compelled them to make reſtitution to ſuch as they had pillaged; and he forced them to abandon the lands they had uſurped from the clergy: all which he performed in a manner ſo diſintereſted, and with ſo indiſputable a zeal for the public welfare, that he gained the affections of the virtuous part of the nobility, and the reverence of the people, while he reſtored order to the ſtate, and preſerved the monarchy from ſubverſion [14].

THIS prince, who is called by the old hiſtorians Lewis Thibaut, and who was the ſixth Lewis that ſat upon the throne of France, ſucceeded his father in
A.D 1108. 1108, when he was thirty years of age. Soon after his coronation, he was engaged in a war with Henry I. of England, a vaſſal whom it was his intereſt to humble. The war was carried on with a variety of fortunes during the greater part of this reign; but without producing any remarkable event, except what I have related

lated in the hiſtory of England, or any alteration in the ſtate of either kingdom [15]. LET. XXI.

A PEACE was at length concluded between the two rival princes; after which Lewis devoted himſelf to the regulation of the interior policy of his kingdom, and either humbled or over-awed the great vaſſals of the crown, to ſuch a degree, as to procure univerſal tranquility. But in the middle of his proſperity, he fell into a languiſhing diſorder, occaſioned by his exceſſive corpulency; and when he thought his death at hand, he ordered his ſon to be called to him, and gave him the following admirable advice: "By this ſign," ſaid he, (drawing the ſignet from his finger, and putting it on that of the prince) "I inveſt you with ſove-"reign authority; but remember, that it is nothing "but a public employment, to which you are called "by Heaven, and for the exerciſe of which you muſt "render an account in the world to come [16]." A.D. 1128.

THE king unexpectedly recovered; but he would never afterwards uſe any of the enſigns of royalty. An accident contributed to the revival of his ſtrength. William duke of Guienne, and earl of Poitou, reſolving to make a pilgrimage to the ſhrine of St. James of Compoſtella, bequeathed his extenſive territories to his daughter Eleanor, on condition that ſhe married young Lewis, already crowned king of France, at the deſire of his father; and the duke dying in that pilgrimage, the marriage was celebrated with great pomp at Bourdeaux, and Lewis VII. was ſolemnly inaugurated as lord of Guienne and Poitou [17].

IN the mean time Lewis VI. unable to ſupport the heat of the dog-days, died at Paris on the firſt of Auguſt, in the ſixtieth year of his age, and the thirtieth of his reign. A better man, hiſtorians agree, never graced A.D. 1137.

LET. XXI. graced the throne of France; but with the addition of certain qualities, his countrymen ſay he might have made a better king. Poſterity, however, may not, perhaps, be inclined to think worſe of his character, when they are told that the qualities he wanted were hypocriſy and diſſimulation, and that his vices were honeſty and ſincerity; which led him to deſpiſe flattery, and indulge himſelf in a manly freedom of ſpeech.

WE ſhould now, my dear Boy, return to the hiſtory of England; but the ſecond Cruſade, which was conducted by the ſovereigns of France and Germany, makes it neceſſary to carry farther the affairs of the continent.

LETTER

LETTER XXII.

The GERMAN EMPIRE *and its* DEPENDENCIES, ROME, *and the* ITALIAN STATES, *from the Death of* HENRY V. *to the Election of* FREDERIC I. *ſurnamed* BARBAROSSA.

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AS Henry V. left no iſſue, it was univerſally believed that the ſtates would confer the empire on one of his nephews, Conrad, duke of Franconia, or Frederic, duke of Suabia, who were princes of great courage; but Albert, archbiſhop of Mentz, found means to influence the German chiefs to give their ſuffrages in favour of Lothario, duke of Saxe-Supplembourg, who had ſupported him in all his conteſts with the late emperor[1]. Lothario was accordingly crowned at Aix-la-Chapelle, in preſence of the pope's nuncio. Mean while his two competitors neglected nothing in their power to obtain the throne. But after a ſhort oppoſition, which however was obſtinate and bloody, they dropped their pretenſions, and were reconciled to Lothario, who afterwards honoured them with his friendſhip. A. D. 1125.

THE firſt expedition of the new emperor was againſt the Bohemians, whom he obliged to ſue for peace, and do homage to the empire. He next marched into Italy, where eccleſiaſtical affairs, as uſual, were in much diſorder. Innocent II. had ſucceeded Honorius II. by virtue of a canonical election; notwithſtanding which cardinal Leoni, the grandſon of a wealthy Jew, was alſo proclaimed pope by the name of Anacletus, and kept poſſeſſion of Rome by means of his money, whilſt his rival was obliged to retire into France, the A. D. 1130.

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common aſylum of diſtreſſed popes. Lothario eſpouſed the cauſe of Innocent, with whom he had an interview
A. D. 1133. at Liege, accompanied him to Rome at the head of an army, and re-eſtabliſhed him in the papal chair, in ſpite of all the efforts and oppoſition of Anacletus[2].

AFTER being ſolemnly crowned at Rome, the emperor returned to Germany; where, by the advice of one Ernerius, he ordered that juſtice ſhould be adminiſtered in the empire according to the Digeſta, or code of Juſtinian, a copy of which was, about this time, found in Italy[3]. In the mean time Roger, duke of Apulia, who had lately conquered the iſland of Sicily, raiſed an army in favour of Anacletus, and made himſelf maſter of almoſt all the places belonging to the Holy See. Pope Innocent retired to Piſa, which was then one of the moſt conſiderable trading cities in Europe, and again implored the aſſiſtance of Lothario. The emperor did not deſert him in his adverſity: he immediately put himſelf at the head of a powerful army; and, by the help of the Piſans, the imperial forces ſoon recovered all the patrimony of St. Peter.
A D 1137. Pope Innocent was re-conducted in triumph to Rome; which ſo much affected Anacletus, that he fell a martyr to the ſucceſs of his competitor, literally dying of grief.

THE emperor afterwards drove Roger, duke of Apulia, from city to city; and, at length, obliged him to take refuge in Sicily, his new kingdom. He then ſubdued the provinces of Apulia and Calabria, and all Roger's Italian dominions, which he formed into a principality, and beſtowed it, with the title of duke, upon Renaud, a German prince, and one of his own relations[4].

ON his way to Germany, Lothario was ſeized with a dan-

a dangerous diſtemper, which carried him off near Trent, in the twelfth year of his reign. He was diſtinguiſhed by a paſſionate love of peace, and an exact attention to the adminiſtration of public juſtice. A D 113.

CONRAD, duke of Franconia, nephew to Henry V. was unanimouſly elected emperor, on the death of Lothario. But the imperial throne was diſputed by Henry the Haughty, duke of Bavaria, the name of whoſe family was Guelphe; hence thoſe who eſpouſed his party were called Guelphs, an appellation afterwards uſually beſtowed on the enemies of the emperors.

HENRY the Haughty died during this conteſt, after being diveſted of his dominions by the princes of the empire; but the war was ſtill carried on againſt the emperor by Guelphe, the duke's brother, and Roger king of Sicily. The imperial army was commanded by Frederic, duke of Suabia, the emperor's brother, who being born at the village of Hieghibelin, gave to his ſoldiers the name of Ghibelins; an epithet by which the imperial party was diſtinguiſhed in Italy, while the pope's adherents grew famous under that of Guelphs [5].

GUELPH, and his principal followers, were beſieged in the caſtle of Weinſberg; and having ſuſtained great loſs in a ſally, they were obliged to ſurrender at diſcretion. The emperor, however, inſtead of uſing his good fortune with rigour, granted the duke, and his chief officers, permiſſion to retire unmoleſted; but the ducheſs, ſuſpecting the generoſity of Conrad, with whoſe enmity to her huſband ſhe was well acquainted, begged that ſhe, and the other women in the caſtle, might be allowed to come out with as much as each of them could carry, and be conducted to a place of ſafety. Her requeſt was granted: and the evacuation

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A. D. 1141.

was immediately performed; when the emperor and his army, who expected to ſee every lady loaded with jewels, gold, and ſilver, to their aſtoniſhment beheld the ducheſs and her fair companions ſtaggering beneath the weight of their huſbands. The tears ran down Conrad's cheeks: he applauded their conjugal tenderneſs; and an accommodation with Guelph, and his adherents, was the conſequence of this act of female heroiſm[6].

WHILE theſe things were tranſacting in Germany, new diſorders broke out in Italy. The people of Rome formed a deſign of re-eſtabliſhing the commonwealth, of retrieving the ſovereignty of their city, and of aboliſhing the temporal dominion of the popes. Lucius II. marched againſt the rebels, and was killed at the foot of the Capitol; but Eugenius III. found

A. D. 1144.

means to reduce them to reaſon, and preſerve the authority of the Apoſtolic See[7].

THIS pope afterwards countenanced the ſecond cruſade againſt the Saracens, preached by St. Bernard, in which the emperor and the king of France engaged, as ſhall be related in the next letter. Another cruſade was preached againſt the Moors in Spain, in which a great many Germans, from the neighbourhood of the Rhine and Weſer, engaged; and the Saxons, about the ſame time, undertook a cruſade againſt the Pagans of the North, whom they cut off in thouſands, without making one convert[8].

NOTHING remarkable happened in the empire, after the return of Conrad III. from the Eaſt, except the death of prince Henry, his eldeſt ſon, who had been elected king of the Romans. This event greatly

A. D. 1152.

affected the emperor, who died ſoon after; and his nephew Frederic, ſurnamed Barbaroſſa, duke of Suabia, was raiſed to the imperial throne, by the unanimous voice of the princes both of Italy and Germany.

LETTER

LETTER XXIII.

FRANCE *under* LEWIS VII. *till the Divorce of Queen* ELEANOR, *with ſome Account of the ſecond* CRUSADE.

LEWIS VII. furnamed the Young, was no ſooner ſeated on the throne of France, than he found himſelf engaged in one of thoſe civil wars, which the feudal government rendered unavoidable; and having in an expedition into Champagne, made himſelf maſter of Vitry, he cauſed the church to be ſet on fire, by which means thirteen hundred perſons, who had taken refuge there, all periſhed in the flames [1]. This cruel action made a deep impreſſion upon the king's mind, and prepared the way for a ſecond cruſade, which now demands your attention. LETTER XXIII. A. D. 1142

THE Chriſtians of the Eaſt grew weaker every day, in thoſe countries which they had conquered. The little kingdom of Edeſſa had already been taken by the Turks, and Jeruſalem itſelf was threatened. Europe was ſolicited for a new armament; and as the French had begun the firſt inundation, they were again applied to, in hopes of a ſecond.

POPE Eugenius III. to whom the deputies of the Eaſt had been ſent, very wiſely pitched upon Bernard, abbot of Clairvaux, as the inſtrument of this pious warfare. Bernard was learned, for thoſe times, naturally eloquent, auſtere in his life, irreproachable in his morals, enthuſiaſtically zealous, and inflexible in his purpoſe. He had long held the reputation of a ſaint, was heard as an oracle, and revered as a prophet; little wonder, therefore, he found means to per-

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ſuade the king of France, that there was no other method of expiating his guilt but by an expedition to the Holy Land.

At Vezelai in Burgundy, a ſcaffold was erected A.D. 1146. in the market-place, on which St. Bernard appeared by the ſide of Lewis VII. The ſaint ſpoke firſt, the king ſeconded him, after taking the croſs from his hands. Queen Eleanor alſo took the croſs, and the example of the royal pair was followed by all preſent, among whom were many of the chief nobility.

SUGER, abbot of St. Denis, then prime miniſter, a man very different from Bernard, endeavoured in vain to diſſuade the king from abandoning his dominions, by telling him that he might make a much more ſuitable atonement for his guilt by ſtaying at home, and governing his kingdom in a wiſe and prudent manner: the eloquence of St. Bernard, and the madneſs of the times, prevailed. Suger, however, retained his opinion; and made no ſcruple of foretelling the inconveniences that would attend an expedition to Paleſtine, whilſt the abbot made himſelf anſwerable for its ſucceſs, and extolled it with an enthuſiaſm that paſſed for inſpiration.

FROM France, St. Bernard went to preach the cruſade in Germany; where by the force of his irreſiſtible eloquence, he prevailed on the emperor Conrad III. Frederic Barbaroſſa, afterwards emperor, and an infinite number of perſons of all ranks, to take the croſs, promiſing them, in the name of God, victory over the Infidels. He ran from city to city, every where communicating his enthuſiaſm; and, if we believe the hiſtorians of thoſe times, working miracles. It is not indeed pretended that he reſtored the dead to life; but the blind received ſight, the lame walked, the ſick were healed: and to theſe bold aſſertions, we may

may add a fact no leſs incredible, that, while St. Bernard's eloquence operated ſo powerfully on the minds of the Germans, he always preached to them in French, a language which they did not underſtand [*].

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THE hopes of certain victory drew after the emperor and the king of France the greateſt part of the knights in their dominions; and it is ſaid, that in each army there were reckoned ſeventy thouſand men in complete armour, with a prodigious number of light horſe, beſides infantry: ſo that we cannot well reduce this ſecond emigration to leſs than three hundred thouſand perſons, and theſe joined to one million three hundred thouſand ſent before, make in the whole ſixteen hundred thouſand tranſplanted inhabitants.

THE Germans took the field firſt, the French followed them: and the ſame exceſſes that had been committed by the ſoldiers of the firſt cruſade were acted over again by theſe; which gave Manuel Comnenes the ſame apprehenſions that the former had raiſed in his grandfather Alexis. If the Greek emperor behaved ungenerouſly to them, it muſt therefore be aſcribed to the irregularity of their own conduct, which made craft neceſſary, where force was unequal; eſpecially as Manuel is repreſented, on all other occaſions, as a prince of great generoſity and magnanimity: but the mortality which prevailed in the German army, near the plains of Conſtantinople, may be accounted for from the change of climate only, without ſuppoſing either the wells to be poiſoned, or the meal to be mingled with lime. A. D. 1147.

AFTER Conrad had paſſed the Boſphorus, he acted with that imprudence which ſeems inſeparable from ſuch kind of expeditions. The principality of Antioch was yet in being, and he might have joined thoſe

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Chriſtians who remained in Syria, and there have waited for the king of France. Their numbers united would have inſured them ſucceſs. But inſtead of ſuch a rational meaſure, the emperor jealous both of the prince of Antioch, and the king of France, marched immediately into the middle of Aſia Minor; where the ſultan of Iconium, a more experienced general, drew his heavy German cavalry among the rocks, and cut his army in pieces. He fled to Antioch; went to Jeruſalem as a pilgrim, inſtead of appearing there as the leader of an army, and returned to Europe with a handful of men [4].

A D. 1148.

THE king of France was not more ſucceſsful in his enterprize. He fell into the ſame ſnare that had deceived the emperor; and being ſurprized among the rocks near Laodicea, was worſted, as Conrad had been. But Lewis met with a domeſtic misfortune that gave him more uneaſineſs than the loſs of his army. Queen Eleanor was ſuſpected of an amour with the prince of Antioch, at whoſe court her huſband had taken refuge. She is even ſaid to have forgot her fatigues in the arms of a young Turk: and the concluſion of the whole expedition was, that Lewis, like Conrad, returned to Europe with the wreck of a great army, after viſiting the holy ſepulchre, and being diſhonoured by his pious conſort, whoſe affection and zeal led her to embrace the croſs, and accompany him into Aſia [5]! A thouſand ruined families in vain exclaimed againſt St. Bernard for his propheſies: he excuſed himſelf upon the example of Moſes; who, like him, he ſaid, had promiſed the Iſraelites to conduct them into a happy country, and yet ſaw the firſt generation periſh in the deſerts.

A. D. 1149.

LEWIS, more delicate than politic, annulled, ſoon after his return, his marriage with queen Eleanor; who

who immediately eſpouſed his powerful vaſſal, Henry Plantagenet, duke of Normandy, count of Anjou and Maine, and preſumptive heir to the crown of England, which the acceſſion of power ariſing from this alliance enabled him to obtain, while France loſt the fine provinces of Guienne and Poitou, the hereditary poſſeſſions of the queen. But before I treat of that ſubject, we muſt take a view of the introductory reign.

LETTER

LETTER XXIV.

ENGLAND *from the Death of* HENRY I. *to the Acceſſion of* HENRY II.

LETTER XXIV.

HENRY I. my dear Boy, as you have had occaſion to ſee, left his dominions by will to his daughter Matilda; and as the nobility, both of England and Normandy, had ſworn fealty to her, ſhe had reaſon to expect the inheritance of both ſtates. But the averſion of the feudal barons againſt female ſucceſſion, prevailed over their good faith, and prepared
A.D. 1135. the way for the uſurpation of Stephen, ſon of the count of Blois, and grandſon of the Conqueror, by his daughter Adela.

STEPHEN was a prince of vigour and ability; but the manner in which he had obtained the crown of England, obliged him to grant exorbitant privileges to the nobility and clergy, who might be ſaid to command the kingdom. The barons built and fortified caſtles; garriſoned them with their own troops; and, when offended, bid their monarch defiance, while wars between themſelves were carried on with the utmoſt fury in every quarter. They even aſſumed the right of coining money, and of exerciſing, without appeal, every act of juriſdiction; and the inferior gentry, and the people, finding no guardianſhip from the laws, during this total diſſolution of ſovereign authority, were obliged to pay court to ſome neighbouring chieftain, and to purchaſe his protection, not only by yielding to his exactions, but by aſſiſting him in his rapine upon others [1].

WHILE

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WHILE things continued in this ſituation, David king of Scotland appeared at the head of a conſiderable army, in defence of his niece Matilda's title, and penetrating into Yorkſhire, laid the country waſte by his barbarous ravages; which enraged the northern nobility, who might otherwiſe have been inclined to join him, and proved the ruin of his cauſe. The earl of Albemarle, and other powerful nobles, aſſembled an army at North-Allerton, where a great battle was fought, called the battle of the Standard, from a high crucifix erected by the Engliſh on a waggon, and carried along with the army, as a military enſign. The Scots were routed with great ſlaughter, and their king narrowly eſcaped falling into the hands of the Engliſh [2]. A D. 1138.

THIS ſucceſs over-awed the malcontents in England, and might have given ſtability to Stephen's throne, had he not been ſo elated by proſperity as to engage in a conteſt with the clergy, who were at that time an over-match for any monarch. They acted entirely as barons; fortified caſtles, employed military power againſt their ſovereign or their neighbours, and thereby increaſed thoſe diſorders which it was their duty to prevent, while they claimed an exemption from all civil juriſdiction, and attracted popularity by the ſacredneſs of their character. The biſhop of Saliſbury, whoſe caſtles had been ſeized by order of the king, appealed to the pope; and had not Stephen and his partizans employed menaces, and even ſhewn a diſpoſition of executing vengeance by the hands of the ſoldiery, affairs had inſtantly come to extremity between the crown and the mitre [3].

IN the mean time Matilda, encouraged by theſe diſcontents, and invited by the rebellious clergy, landed in England, accompanied by Robert earl of Glouceſter, natural ſon of the late king, and a retinue of A. D. 1139.

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of an hundred and forty knights. She fixed her residence at Arundel caſtle, whoſe gates were opened to her by Adelais, the queen dowager, now married to William de Albini, earl of Suſſex. Her party daily increaſed. She was ſoon joined by ſeveral barons, and war raged in every quarter of the kingdom; which was carried on with ſo much fury, that the land was left untilled, and the inſtruments of huſbandry deſtroyed or abandoned: ſo that a grievous famine, the natural reſult of theſe diſorders, affected equally both parties, and reduced the ſpoilers, as well as the defenceleſs people, to the moſt extreme want.

THINGS were in this deplorable ſituation, when an unexpected event ſeemed to promiſe ſome mitigation of
A. D. 1141. the public calamities. The royal army was defeated near the caſtle of Lincoln; and Stephen himſelf, ſurrounded by the enemy, and borne down by numbers, was made captive, after exerting uncommon efforts of valour. He was conducted to Glouceſter, thrown into priſon, and ignominiouſly loaded with irons: but he was ſoon after releaſed in exchange for earl Robert, Matilda's brother, who was no leſs the ſoul of the one party, than Stephen was of the other; and the civil war was again kindled with greater fury than ever [4].

THE weakneſs of both parties, however, at laſt pro-
A. D. 1142. duced a tacit ceſſation of arms, and the empreſs Matilda retired into Normandy. But an event ſoon after happened, which threatened a revival of hoſtilities in England. Prince Henry, ſon of Matilda and Geoffrey Plantagenet, had reached his ſixteenth year, and was deſirous of receiving the honour of knighthood from his great-uncle, David king of Scotland. For this purpoſe he paſſed thro' England with a great retinue, and was viſited by the moſt conſiderable of his partizans, whoſe hopes he rouſed by his dexterity and vigour in all manly exerciſes, and his prudence in every occurrence.

occurrence. He ſtaid ſome time in Scotland, where he increaſed in reputation; and on his return to Normandy, he was inveſted in that duchy by the conſent of his mother Matilda. His father died the following year, when Henry took poſſeſſion of Anjou and Maine, and eſpouſed the heireſs of Guienne and Poitou, who had been married ſixteen years to Lewis VII. king of France, but whom he had divorced, as I have already obſerved [5], on account of her gallantries. This marriage, which brought Henry a great acceſſion of power, rendered him extremely formidable to his rival; and the proſpect of his riſing fortune had ſuch an effect in England, that the archbiſhop of Canterbury refuſed to anoint Euſtace, Stephen's ſon, as his ſucceſſor, and made his eſcape beyond ſea, to avoid the fury of the enraged monarch.

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A. D. 1152

As ſoon as Henry was informed of theſe diſpoſitions in the people, he invaded England. Stephen advanced with a ſuperior army to meet him; and a deciſive action was every day expected, when the great men on both ſides, terrified with the proſpect of farther bloodſhed and confuſion, interpoſed with their good offices, and ſet on foot a negociation between the contending princes. The death of Euſtace, which happened during the courſe of the treaty, facilitated its concluſion; and an accommodation was at laſt ſettled, by which it was agreed, that Stephen ſhould poſſeſs the crown during his life-time; that juſtice ſhould be adminiſtered in his name, even in the provinces which had ſubmitted to his rival; and that Henry, on Stephen's death, ſhould ſucceed to the kingdom, and William, Stephen's ſon, to Boulogne, and his patrimonial eſtate [6].

A. D. 1153.

THE barons all ſwore to the obſervance of this treaty, and did homage to Henry as heir of the crown, who

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A.D. 1154.

who immediately after evacuated the kingdom; and Stephen's death, which happened next year, prevented thoſe jealouſies and feuds, which were likely to have enſued in ſo delicate a ſituation. His character is differently repreſented by hiſtorians: but all allow, that he poſſeſſed induſtry, activity, and courage, to a great degree; and had he ſucceeded by a juſt title, he ſeems to have been well qualified to promote the happineſs and proſperity of his ſubjects, notwithſtanding the miſeries that England ſuffered under his reign.

LETTER XXV.

FRANCE *and* ENGLAND, *during the Reign of* HENRY II.

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I HAVE already obſerved, my dear Boy, that before the conqueſt of England by the duke of Normandy, this iſland was as diſtinct from the reſt of the world in politics as in ſituation. The Engliſh had then neither enemies nor allies on the continent. But the foreign dominions of William and his ſucceſſors connected them with the kings and great vaſſals of France; and while the oppoſite pretenſions of the pope and the emperor in Italy produced a continual intercourſe between Germany and that country, the two great monarchs of France and England formed, in another part of Europe, a ſeparate ſyſtem, and carried on their wars and negociations, without meeting either with oppoſition or ſupport from their neighbours; the extenſive confederacies by which the European potentates are now united, and made the guardians of each other, being then totally unknown. Little wonder, therefore, that Lewis VII. king of France, obſerved with terror the riſing greatneſs of the houſe of Anjou, or Plantagenet, whoſe continental dominions compoſed above a third of the whole French monarchy, and which gave a ſovereign to England in the perſon of Henry II. But the jealouſy occaſioned by this very circumſtance, as we ſhall have occaſion to ſee, not only ſaved France from falling a prey to England, but exalted that kingdom to the pitch of grandeur which it has ſo long enjoyed. The king of England ſoon became a kind of foreigner in his continental dominions; and the other powerful vaſſals of the French

crown,

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crown, inſtead of being rouſed at the oppreſſion of a co-vaſſal, were rather pleaſed at the expulſion of the Engliſh.

As theſe important conſequences could not be foreſeen by human wiſdom, the king of France had maintained a ſtrict union with Stephen, in order to prevent the ſucceſſion of Henry. The ſudden death of the uſurper, however, rendered abortive all the ſchemes of Lewis. Henry was received in England with the acclamations of all orders of men, who joy-
A. D. 1154. fully ſwore to him the oath of allegiance; and he began his reign with the re-eſtabliſhment of juſtice and good order, to which the kingdom had been long a ſtranger. For this purpoſe, he diſmiſſed all thoſe foreign mercenaries retained by Stephen[1]; and that he might reſtore authority to the laws, he cauſed all the new erected caſtles to be demoliſhed, which had proved ſo many ſanctuaries to rebels and free-booters.

TRANQUILITY was no ſooner reſtored in England, than Henry had occaſion to viſit his foreign dominions; where all things being likewiſe ſettled, he returned to repreſs the incurſions of the Welch, who at firſt gave
A. D. 1157. him much trouble, but at length ſubmitted. In the mean time a quarrel broke out between Lewis and Henry, relative to the county of Thouloufe, and war was openly carried on between the two monarchs; but it produced no memorable event, was ſtopt by a ceſ-
A. D. 1161. ſation of arms, and terminated in a peace, through the mediation of the pope.

THIS war, ſo inſignificant in itſelf, is remarkable by the manner in which it was conducted. An army compoſed of feudal vaſſals, as I have had occaſion frequently to obſerve, was commonly very intractable and undiſciplined, both becauſe of the independent ſpirit

ſpirit of the perſons who ſerved in it, and becauſe the commands were not given either by the choice of the ſovereign, or from the military capacity and experience of the officers. Each baron conducted his own vaſſals; his rank was greater or leſs, in proportion to the extent of his property: even the ſupreme command under the prince was often attached to birth; and as the military vaſſals were obliged to ſerve only forty days, at their own charge, the prince reaped very little benefit from their attendance. Henry, ſenſible of theſe inconveniences, levied upon his vaſſals in Normandy, and other provinces remote from Thouloufe, the ſeat of war, a ſum of money in place of their ſervice; and this commutation, by reaſon of the great diſtance, was ſtill more advantageous to his Engliſh vaſſals. He therefore impoſed a *ſcutage* of three pounds upon each knight's fee [2]; a condition tho' unuſual, and the firſt perhaps to be met with in hiſtory, to which the military tenants readily ſubmitted. With this money he levied an army, which was more at his command, and whoſe ſervice was more durable and conſtant; and in order to facilitate thoſe levies, he enlarged the privileges of the people, and rendered them more independent of the barons, by whom they had been long held in ſervitude, or in a ſtate of the moſt grievous oppreſſion.

HAVING thus regulated his civil and military affairs, and accommodated his differences with Lewis, Henry, ſoon after his return to England, began to caſt his eyes upon the church, where abuſes of every kind prevailed. The clergy, among their other inventions to obtain money, had inculcated the neceſſity of penance as an atonement for ſin: they had alſo introduced the practice of paying large ſums of money, as a compoſition for theſe penances, by which means the ſins of the people were become a revenue to the prieſts; A.D. 1162.

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and the king computed, that by this invention alone, they levied more money from his ſubjects, than flowed into the royal exchequer by all the methods of public ſupply [3]. Henry, therefore, feeling for his oppreſſed people, required that a civil officer, of his appointment, ſhould for the future be preſent in all eccleſiaſtical courts, and give his conſent to every compoſition made by ſinners for their ſpiritual offences.

But the eccleſiaſtics, in that age, had renounced all immediate ſubordination to the civil power. They openly claimed an exemption, in criminal accuſations, from a trial before courts of juſtice; ſpiritual penalties alone could be inflicted on their offences: and as the clerical habit was thus become a protection for all enormities, they could not fail to increaſe. Accordingly crimes of the deepeſt dye were daily committed with impunity by eccleſiaſtics; and it was found upon inquiry, that no leſs than an hundred murders had been perpetrated ſince the king's acceſſion, by men in holy orders, who had never been called to account for theſe offences againſt the laws of nature and ſociety [4].

In order to remedy theſe evils, as the firſt ſtep towards the projected reformation, and to reſtore the union between the civil and eccleſiaſtical powers, ſo neceſſary in every government for the maintenance of peace and harmony, Henry exalted Thomas a Becket, his chancellor, to the ſee of Canterbury, on the death of archbiſhop Theobald; rightly judging, that if the preſent opportunity neglected, and the uſurpations of the clergy allowed to proceed, the crown muſt be in danger, from the prevailing ſuperſtition of the people, of falling under ſubjection to the mitre.

Becket, while chancellor, was pompous in his retinue, ſumptuous in his furniture, and luxurious in his

his table, beyond any thing that England had ſeen in a ſubject. His houſe was a place of education for the ſons of the chief nobility, and the king himſelf frequently condeſcended to partake of his entertainments. His amuſements were as gay, as his manner of life was ſplendid and opulent. He employed himſelf at leiſure hours in hunting, hawking, gaming, and horſemanſhip. His complaiſance and good humour had rendered him agreeable, and his induſtry and abilities uſeful to his maſter: and as he was well acquainted with the king's intention of retrenching, or rather confining within ancient bounds, all eccleſiaſtical privileges, and ſhewed always a ready diſpoſition to comply with every advance to that purpoſe, Henry conſidered him as the fitteſt perſon he could place at the head of the Engliſh church. But never prince of ſo much penetration, as appeared in the iſſue, ſo little underſtood the character of his miniſter.

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A D. 1162.

BECKET was no ſooner inſtalled in the ſee of Canterbury, which rendered him the ſecond perſon in the kingdom, than he ſecretly aſpired at being the firſt, in conſequence at leaſt, and totally altered his manner of life. He affected the greateſt auſterity, and the moſt rigid mortification: he wore ſackcloth next his ſkin, which he changed ſo ſeldom, that it was filled with dirt and vermin; his uſual diet was bread, his drink water: he tore his back with the frequent diſcipline which he inflicted upon it; and he daily waſhed on his knees, in imitation of Chriſt, the feet of thirteen beggars, whom he afterwards diſmiſſed with preſents [5]. Every one who made profeſſion of ſanctity was admitted to his converſation, and returned full of panegyrics on the humility, as well as piety and mortification of the holy primate; whoſe aſpect wore the appearance of ſerioufneſs, mental reflection, and ſacred devotion; and all men of penetration ſaw, that he was

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meditating ſome great deſign, and that the ambition and oſtentation of his character had taken a new and more dangerous direction.

A. D 1162.

THIS champion of the church, for ſuch he now declared himſelf, did not even wait till the king ſhould commence thoſe projects, which he knew had been formed againſt eccleſiaſtical power: he himſelf began hoſtilities, and endeavoured to over-awe the king by the intrepidity and boldneſs of his enterprizes. But though Henry found himſelf thus grievouſly miſtaken in the character of the perſon whom he had promoted to the primacy, he determined not to deſiſt from his former intention of retrenching clerical uſurpations; and an event ſoon occurred which gave him a plauſible pretence for putting his deſign in execution, and brought things to a criſis with the archbiſhop.

A CLERK in Worceſterſhire, having debauched a gentleman's daughter, had about this time proceeded to murder the father; and the general indignation againſt ſo enormous a crime made the king inſiſt, that the clerk ſhould be delivered up to the civil magiſtrate, and receive condign puniſhment; but Becket inſiſted on the privileges of the church, and maintained that no greater puniſhment could be inflicted upon him than degradation[6]. Henry laid hold of ſo favourable a cauſe to puſh the clergy with reſpect to all their uſurpations, and to determine at once thoſe controverſies, which daily multiplied, between the civil and eccleſiaſtical juriſdictions. He ſummoned an aſſembly of all the prelates of England, and put to them this conciſe and deciſive queſtion: Whether or not they were willing to ſubmit to the ancient laws and cuſtoms of the kingdom? The biſhops anſwered equivocably, and the king left the aſſembly with marks of the higheſt indig-

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indignation. They were terrified, and gave a general promiſe of obſerving the ancient cuſtoms [7]. LETTER XXV.

BUT a declaration in general terms was not ſufficient for Henry: he wanted to define exactly the limits between the rival powers. For this purpoſe, he ſummoned at Clarendon a general council of the biſhops and nobles, A.D. 1164. to whom he ſubmitted that great and important queſtion. The barons were all gained to the king's party, either by the reaſons he urged, or by his ſuperior authority: the biſhops were over-awed by the general combination againſt them; and the following laws, among others, commonly called the Conſtitutions of Clarendon, were voted without oppoſition: "That "no chief tenant of the crown ſhould be excommu- "nicated, nor have his lands put under an interdict, "without the king's conſent; that no appeals in ſpi- "ritual cauſes ſhould be carried before the Holy "See, nor any clergyman be ſuffered to depart the "kingdom, unleſs with the king's permiſſion; that "laymen ſhould not be accuſed in ſpiritual courts, "except by legal and reputable promoters and witneſſes; "and laſtly (which was the great object aimed at) "that churchmen, accuſed of any crime, ſhould be "tried in the civil courts [8]."

Theſe articles were well calculated to prevent the principal abuſes in eccleſiaſtical affairs, and put a final ſtop to the uſurpations of the church; and by being paſſed in a national and civil aſſembly, they fully eſtabliſhed the ſuperiority of the legiſlature over all papal decrees or ſpiritual canons. But as Henry knew the biſhops would take the firſt opportunity to deny the authority which had enacted theſe conſtitutions, he reſolved they ſhould ſet their ſeal to them, and give a promiſe to obſerve them. For this purpoſe they were reduced to writing; and none of the prelates

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dared to oppoſe the king's will except Becket, who at length conſented. He ſet his ſeal to the conſtitutions; promiſed *legally*, with *good-faith*, and without *fraud* or *reſerve*, to obſerve them; and even took an oath to that purpoſe [9].

HENRY, thinking he had now finally prevailed in this great enterprize, ſent the conſtitutions to Alexander III. to be ratified: but the pope, who plainly ſaw they were calculated to eſtabliſh the independency of England on the Holy See, abrogated, annulled, and rejected them; and when Becket found he might hope for ſupport in an oppoſition, he expreſſed the deepeſt ſorrow for his conceſſions. He redoubled his auſterities, as a puniſhment for his criminal compliance; and he refuſed to exerciſe any part of his eccleſiaſtical function, till he ſhould receive abſolution from the pope. Abſolution was readily granted him; after which he ſet no bounds to his obſtinacy and ambition.

HENRY, however, who was entirely maſter of his extenſive dominions, and ſure every one would obey his will, except the man whom he had lifted into power, and to whoſe aſſiſtance he had truſted in forwarding his favourite project againſt the clergy, was now tranſported beyond all bounds of moderation, and reſolved both to humble the church, and make the prelate feel the weight of his indignation. He ſummoned Becket to give an account of his adminiſtration while chancellor, and to pay the balance due from the revenues of all the prelacies, abbies, and baronies, which had been ſubject to his management, during that time.

THIS proſecution, which ſeems to have been more dictated by paſſion than by juſtice, or even by ſound policy,

policy, threw Becket, and all the clergy of England, into the utmoſt confuſion. Some biſhops adviſed him to reſign his ſee, on receiving an acquittal; others were of opinion, that he ought to ſubmit himſelf entirely to the king's mercy: for they were ſenſible, that accounts of ſo much intricacy could not be produced of a ſudden, in ſuch a manner as to ſatisfy a tribunal reſolved to ruin and oppreſs him. But the primate, thus puſhed to extremity, had too much courage to yield; he determined to brave all his enemies; to truſt to the ſacredneſs of his character for protection; and to defy the utmoſt efforts of royal indignation, by involving his cauſe with that of God and the church. He accordingly ſtrictly prohibited his ſuffragans to aſſiſt at any ſuch trial, or give their ſanction to any ſentence againſt him; he put himſelf and his ſee under the protection of the vicegerent of Chriſt, and appealed to his Holineſs againſt any penalty which his iniquitous judges might think proper to inflict upon him. "The indignation of a great mo-"narch," added he, "ſuch as Henry, with his "ſword, can only kill the body; while that of the "church, intruſted to the primate, can kill the ſoul, "and throw the diſobedient into infinite and eternal "perdition [10]."

APPEALS to the pope, even in ſpiritual cauſes, had been prohibited by the Conſtitutions of Clarendon, and conſequently were become criminal by law; but an appeal in a civil cauſe, ſuch as the king's demand upon Becket, was altogether new and unprecedented, and tended directly to the ſubverſion of the government: Henry, therefore, having now obtained ſo much better a pretence for his violence, would probably have puſhed this affair to the utmoſt extremity againſt the primate, had he not retired beyond

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A.D. 1164.

ſea, and put himſelf under the protection of the pope and the king of France.

MANY reaſons conſpired to procure Becket countenance and protection abroad; and the violent proſecution carried on againſt him at home, had a natural tendency to turn the public favour on his ſide, and to make men forget his former ingratitude towards the king, and his departure from all oaths and engagements, as well as the enormity of thoſe eccleſiaſtical privileges, of which he affected to be the champion. Philip, earl of Flanders, and Lewis, king of France, jealous of the riſing greatneſs of Henry, were glad of any opportunity to give him diſturbance in his government. They pretended to pity extremely the condition of the exiled primate; and the pope, whoſe intereſts were more immediately concerned in ſupporting him, honoured him with the higheſt marks of diſtinction. A reſidence was aſſigned him in the abbey of Pontigny; where he lived, for ſome years, in great magnificence, partly by a penſion out of the revenues of the abbey, and partly by the generoſity of the French monarch [11].

IN the mean time the exiled primate filled all Europe with exclamations againſt the violence which he had ſuffered. He compared himſelf to Chriſt, who had been condemned by a lay tribunal, and who was crucified anew in the preſent oppreſſions under which his church laboured [12]. Complaint, however, was a language ill-ſuited to the vehemence of Becket's temper, and in which he did not long acquieſce. He iſſued out a cenſure of excommunication againſt the king's chief miniſters by name, and comprehending in general all thoſe who had favoured or obeyed the Conſtitutions of Clarendon: he abrogated and annulled theſe Conſtitutions, abſolving all perſons from the oaths

oaths which they had taken to obſerve them; and he ſuſpended the ſpiritual thunder over Henry, only that he might avoid the blow by a timely repentance [13]. A. D. 1166.

HENRY, on the other hand, employed the temporal weapons ſtill in his power. He ſuſpended the payment of Peter's-pence, and made ſome advances towards an alliance with the emperor Frederic Barbaroſſa, who was then engaged in violent wars with pope Alexander III. Both parties grew ſick of contention; and each was afraid of the other: Though the vigour of Henry's government had confirmed his authority in all his dominions, he was ſenſible that his throne might be ſhaken by a ſentence of excommunication; and as the trials hitherto made of the ſpiritual weapons by Becket had not ſucceeded to his expectation, and every thing remained quiet both in England and Normandy, nothing ſeemed impoſſible to the vigilance and capacity of ſo great a prince.

THESE conſiderations produced frequent attempts at an accommodation, which was long obſtructed by mutual jealouſy. After all differences ſeemed adjuſted, the king offered to ſign the treaty, with a ſalvo to his *royal dignity*; which gave ſo much umbrage to the primate, that the negociation became fruitleſs: and in a ſecond negociation, Becket, imitating Henry's example, offered to make his ſubmiſſions with a ſalvo of the *honour of God*, and the *liberties of the Church*; which, for a like reaſon, was offenſive to the king, and rendered the treaty abortive. A third conference was broke off by the ſame means; and even in a fourth, when all things were ſettled, and the primate was introduced to the king, Henry refuſed him the kiſs of peace, under pretence that he had made a raſh vow to the contrary: the want of which formality, inſignificant as it may ſeem, prevented the concluſion of the treaty, it being

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being regarded in thoſe times as the only ſure mark of forgiveneſs.

In one of theſe conferences, at which the French king was preſent, Henry ſaid to that monarch, "There "have been many kings of England, ſome of greater, "ſome of leſs authority than myſelf: there have alſo "been many archbiſhops of Canterbury, holy and "good men, and entitled to every kind of reſpect: "let Becket only act towards me with the ſame ſub- "miſſion, which the greateſt of his predeceſſors has "paid to the leaſt of mine, and there ſhall be no con- "troverſy between us."

Lewis was ſo much ſtruck with this ſtate of the caſe, and with an offer which Henry made to ſubmit his cauſe to the French clergy, that he could not forbear condemning Becket, and withdrawing his friendſhip for ſome time: but their common animoſity againſt Henry ſoon produced a renewal of their former intimacy; and the primate revived his threats and excommunications. All difficulties between the parties, however, were at laſt adjuſted, and Becket was permitted to return on conditions both honourable and advantageous[14]: a certain proof how much Henry dreaded the interdict which was ready to be laid upon his dominions, if he had continued in diſobedience to the church, and how terrible the thunder of the church muſt then have been, ſince it could humble a prince of ſo haughty a ſpirit!

A. D. 1170.

This accommodation with Becket, though granted on terms ſo diſadvantageous to the crown, did not even procure Henry that temporary tranquility which he had hoped to reap from it. Inſtead of being taught moderation by a ſix years exile, the primate was only animated by a ſpirit of revenge: elated by the victory which

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which he had obtained over his ſovereign, he ſet no bounds to his arrogance. On his arrival in England, where he went from town to town in a ſort of triumphal cavalcade, he notified to the archbiſhop of York the ſentence of ſuſpenſion, and to the biſhops of London and Salisbury that of excommunication. which, at his ſolicitation, the pope had pronounced againſt them, becauſe they had aſſiſted at the coronation of prince Henry, whom the king had aſſociated in the royalty, during the abſence of the primate, and when an interdict was ready to be laid upon his dominions; a precaution thought neceſſary to inſure the ſucceſſion of that prince. By this violent meaſure Becket, therefore, in effect, declared war againſt the king himſelf; yet in ſo doing, he appears to have been guided by policy as well as paſſion. Apprehenſive leſt a prince of ſuch profound policy ſhould in the end prevail, he reſolved to take all the advantage which his preſent victory gave him, and to diſconcert the cautious meaſures of the king, by the vehemence and vigour of his own conduct. Aſſured of ſupport from Rome, he was little apprehenſive of dangers, which his courage taught him to deſpiſe, and which, though followed by the moſt fatal conſequences, would ſtill gratify his thirſt of glory, and reward his ambition with the crown of martyrdom.

THE ſuſpended and excommunicated prelates waited upon the king at Baieux in Normandy, where he then reſided, and complained to him of the violent proceedings of Becket; and Henry, ſenſible that his whole plan of operations was overturned, and the conteſt revived, which he had endeavoured by ſo many negociations to appeaſe, was thrown into the moſt violent agitation. "Will my ſervants," exclaimed he, "ſtill "leave me expoſed to the inſolence of this ungrateful "and imperious prieſt?"—Theſe words ſeemed a call for

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for vengeance; and four gentlemen of the king's houſhold, Reginald Fitz-Urſe, William de Tracy, Hugh de Moreville, and Richard Brito, communicating their thoughts to each other, and ſwearing to revenge their ſovereign's quarrel, ſecretly withdrew from court, and made the beſt of their way to England [15].



In the mean time Henry, informed of ſome menacing expreſſions which they had dropt, diſpatched a meſſenger after them, charging them to attempt nothing againſt the perſon of the primate. But theſe orders came too late to prevent their fatal purpoſe: tho' they took different roads, to avoid ſuſpicion, they arrived nearly about the ſame time at Canterbury; where they found the archbiſhop in perfect ſecurity, and murdered him in the church of St. Benedict, while he was hearing veſpers.

Such, my dear Boy, was the tragical death of Thomas a Becket, a prelate of the moſt lofty, intrepid, and inflexible ſpirit, who was able to cover from the world, and probably from himſelf, the enterprizes of pride and ambition under the diſguiſe of ſanctity, and of zeal for the intereſts of Chriſt and his church. His death confirmed to the clergy thoſe privileges which his oppoſition could not obtain. Though Henry had propoſed to have him arreſted, when informed of his renewed inſolence, he was no ſooner told of the primate's murder, than he was filled with the utmoſt conſternation. Interdicts and excommunications, weapons in themſelves ſo terrible, would now, he foreſaw, be armed with double force: in vain ſhould he plead his innocence, and even his total ignorance of the fact; he was ſufficiently guilty, if the church thought fit to eſteem him ſo. Theſe conſiderations gave him the moſt unaffected concern: he ſhut himſelf up from the light

light of the ſun for three days, denying himſelf all manner of ſuſtenance; and as ſoon as he recovered, in any degree, his tone of mind, he diſpatched a ſolemn embaſſy to Rome, maintaining his innocence, and offering to ſubmit the whole affair to the deciſion of the Holy See [16]. A. D. 1171.

THE pope, flattered by ſo much condeſcenſion, forebore to proceed to extremities againſt Henry; more eſpecially as he was ſenſible, that he could reap greater advantages from moderation, than from violence. Meantime the clergy were not idle in magnifying the ſanctity of the murdered primate. Other ſaints had borne teſtimony, by their ſufferings, to the general doctrines of Chriſtianity; but Becket had ſacrificed his life to the power and privileges of the church: this peculiar merit challenged, and not in vain, a ſuitable acknowledgment to his memory. Endleſs were the panegyrics on his virtues; and the miracles wrought by his relics were more numerous, more nonſenſical, and more impudently atteſted, than thoſe which ever filled the legend of any ſaint or martyr. His ſhrine not only reſtored dead men to life; it alſo reſtored cows, dogs, and horſes. Preſents were ſent, and pilgrimages performed, from all parts of Chriſtendom, in order to obtain his interceſſion with heaven; and it was computed, that in one year, above an hundred thouſand pilgrims arrived at Canterbury, and paid their devotion at his tombs [17].

As Henry, however, found he was in no immediate danger from the thunder of the Vatican, he undertook the conqueſt of Ireland; a deſign which he had long projected, and for which he had obtained a bull from pope Adrian III. but which had been deferred by reaſon of his quarrels with the primate. Of that iſland ſomething muſt here be ſaid.

IRELAND

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IRELAND was probably firſt peopled from Britain, as Britain was from Gaul; and the inhabitants of all theſe countries ſeem to proceed from the ſame Celtic origin, which is loſt in the moſt diſtant antiquity. The Iriſh, from the earlieſt accounts of hiſtory or tradition, had been buried in ignorance and barbariſm; and as they were never conquered, or even invaded by the Romans, who communicated to the Weſtern world civility and ſlavery, they remained almoſt in their primitive ſituation. The ſmall principalities, into which they were divided, exerciſed perpetual hoſtilities againſt each other; the uncertain ſucceſſion of their princes was a continual ſource of domeſtic convulſions; the uſual title of each petty ſovereign was the murder of his predeceſſor; courage and force, though exerciſed in the commiſſion of violence, were more honoured than pacific virtues; and the moſt ſimple arts of life, even tillage and agriculture, were almoſt wholly unknown among them.

FROM this ſhort account of the ſtate of the country, you will be leſs ſurpriſed, my dear Boy, when you are told, that Henry, who landed in Ireland
A.D. 1172. at the head of no more than five hundred knights and their attendants, in a progreſs which he made through that iſland, had little other occupation than to receive the homage of his new ſubjects. He left moſt of the Iriſh chieftains, or princes, in poſſeſſion of their ancient territories; he beſtowed ſome lands on his Engliſh adventurers; and after a ſtay of a few months, returned to Britain, where his preſence was much wanted, having annexed Ireland for ever to the Engliſh crown [18].

THE pope's two legates, Albert and Theodin, to whom was committed the trial of Henry's conduct in regard to the death of Becket, were arrived in Normandy,

mandy, before his return, and had ſent frequent letters to England, full of menacing expreſſions. The king haſtened over to meet them; and was ſo fortunate as to conclude an accommodation with them, on terms more eaſy than could have been expected. He cleared himſelf by oath of all concern in the murder of Becket: but, as the paſſion which he had expreſſed on account of that prelate's conduct, had probably been the cauſe of his violent death, Henry promiſed to ſerve three years againſt the Infidels, either in Spain or Paleſtine, if the pope ſhould require him; and he agreed to permit appeals to the Holy See, in eccleſiaſtical cauſes, on ſurety being given that nothing ſhould be attempted againſt the rights of his crown [9]. A.D. 1172.

HENRY ſeemed now to have reached the pinnacle of human grandeur and felicity: his dangerous controverſy with the church was at an end, and he appeared equally happy in his domeſtic ſituation and his political government: but this tranquility was of ſhort duration. Prince Henry, at the inſtigation of Lewis VII. his father-in-law, inſiſted that the king ſhould reſign to him either the kingdom of England, or the duchy of Normandy; and his two younger brothers, Geoffrey and Richard, alſo leagued with the court of France, by the perſuaſions of their mother, queen Eleanor; whoſe jealouſy, when in years, was as violent as her amorous paſſions, in youth. A.D. 1173.

THUS Europe ſaw, with aſtoniſhment, the beſt and moſt indulgent of parents at war with his whole family; and, what was ſtill more extraordinary, ſeveral princes not aſhamed to ſupport this abſurd and unnatural rebellion!—Not only Lewis king of France, but William king of Scotland, Philip count of Flanders, and ſeveral other princes on the continent, beſides many

LETTER XXV.

A.D. 1173.

many barons, both Engliſh and Norman, eſpouſed the quarrel of young Henry and his brothers [20].

In order to break this alarming confederacy, the king of England humbled himſelf ſo far as to ſupplicate the court of Rome: though ſenſible of the danger of eccleſiaſtical authority in temporal diſputes, he applied to the pope to excommunicate his enemies, and by that means reduce to obedience his undutiful children, whom he found ſuch reluctance to puniſh by the ſword. The bulls required were iſſued by Alexander III. but they not having the deſired effect, the king was obliged to have recourſe to arms; and he carried on war ſucceſsfully, and at the ſame time, again France, Scotland, and the rebellious barons in England and Normandy.

In the mean time Henry, ſenſible of his danger, and of the effects of ſuperſtition on the minds of the
A.D. 1174. people, went barefooted to Becket's tomb; proſtrated himſelf before the ſhrine of the ſaint; remained in faſting and prayer during a whole day; watched all night the holy reliques; and aſſembling a chapter of the monks, put a ſcourge of diſcipline into each of their hands, and preſented his bare ſhoulders to the laſhes which theſe incenſed eccleſiaſtics inflicted upon him!—Next morning he received abſolution; and his generals obtained, on the ſame day, a great victory over the Scots, which was regarded as the earneſt of his final reconciliation with Heaven, and with Thomas a Becket [21].

Another battle was ſoon after obtained over the the Scots, near Alnwic, where their king was taken priſoner; and the ſpirit of the rebels being broken by this victory, all England was reſtored to tranquility. It was deemed impious any longer to reſiſt a prince, who

who ſeemed to lie under the immediate protection of Heaven. The clergy exalted anew the merits and the powerful interceſſion of Becket; and Henry, inſtead of oppoſing their ſuperſtition, politically propagated an opinion ſo favourable to his intereſts [22]. Victorious in all quarters, crowned with glory, and abſolute maſter of his Engliſh dominions, he haſtened over to Normandy; where a peace was concluded with Lewis, and an accommodation brought about with his ſons. LETTER XXV. A. D. 1175.

THUS, contrary to all expectation, having extricated himſelf from a ſituation, in which his throne was expoſed to the utmoſt danger, Henry occupied himſelf for ſeveral years in the adminiſtration of juſtice, enacting of laws, and in guarding againſt thoſe inconveniencies, which either the paſt convulſions of the ſtate, or the political inſtitutions of that age, rendered unavoidable. The ſucceſs which had attended him in all his wars, diſcouraged his neighbours from attempting any thing againſt him; ſo that his tranſactions with them, during the remainder of his reign, contain little memorable.

MEANWHILE the king of France had fallen into a very abject ſuperſtition; and was induced, by a devotion more ſincere than Henry's, to make a pilgrimage to the tomb of Becket, in order to obtain his interceſſion for the recovery of Philip, his ſon and heir. Lewis, as the ſagacious Hume remarks, with no leſs ingenuity than pleaſantry, probably thought himſelf intituled to the favour of that ſaint, on account of their ancient intimacy: and hoped that Becket, whom he had protected while on earth, would not now, that he was ſo highly advanced in heaven, forget his old friend and benefactor. The young prince was reſtored to health, and, as was ſuppoſed, by the inter- A. D. 1176.

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ceſſion of Becket; but the king himſelf, ſoon after his return, was ſtruck with an apoplexy, which deprived him of his judgment: and Philip (afterwards ſurnamed Auguſtus) though only fifteen years of age, took upon him the adminiſtration. His father's death, which happened in a ſhort time, opened his way to the throne, and he proved the ableſt, and greateſt monarch, that had governed France, ſince the age of Charlemagne. The ſuperior years and experience of Henry, however, while they moderated his ambition, gave him ſuch an aſcendant over this prince, that no dangerous rivalſhip, for ſome time, aroſe between them. The Engliſh monarch, inſtead of taking advantage of Philip's youth, employed his good offices in compoſing the quarrels which aroſe in the royal family of France; and he was ſucceſsful in mediating an accommodation between the king, his mother, and uncles. But theſe ſervices were ill requited by Philip; who, when he came to man's eſtate, encouraged Henry's ſons in their ungrateful and undutiful behaviour towards their father[13].

A.D. 1180.

THE quarrels between the king of England and his family, however, were in ſome meaſure quieted by the death of young Henry, and alſo of his brother Geoffrey, who had both been in open rebellion againſt their parental ſovereign; and the rivalſhip between old Henry and Philip ſeemed, for a time, to give place to the general paſſion for the relief of the Holy Land. Both aſſumed the croſs, and impoſed a tax, amounting to the tenth of all moveables, on ſuch of their ſubjects as remained at home[14].

A.D. 1183.

A.D. 1188.

BUT before this great enterprize could be carried into execution, many obſtacles were to ſurmount. Philip, ſtill jealous of Henry's greatneſs, entered into a private confederacy with prince Richard, now heir apparent to the crown of England; and by working on

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on his ambitious and impatient temper, perſuaded him to ſeek preſent power and independency, at the expence of filial duty, and of the grandeur of that monarchy which he was one day to inherit. The king of England was therefore obliged, at an advanced age, to defend his dominions by arms, and to enter on a war with France, and with his eldeſt ſon, a prince of great valour and popularity, who had ſeduced the chief barons of Poitou, Guienne, Normandy, and Anjou. Henry was unſucceſsful, as might be expected; which ſo much ſubdued his ſpirit, that he concluded a treaty on the moſt diſadvantageous terms. He agreed that Richard ſhould receive the homage, and oath of fealty, of all his ſubjects; that all his aſſociates ſhould be pardoned; and he engaged to pay the king of France a compenſation for the charges of the war [25]. A.D 1189.

But the mortification which Henry received from theſe humiliating conditions, was nothing, in compariſon of what he experienced on this occaſion. When he demanded a liſt of the perſons, to whom he was to grant an indemnity for confederating with Richard, he was aſtoniſhed to find at the head of them the name of his ſon John, who had always been his favourite, and who, on account of his influence with the king, had often excited the jealouſy of Richard. Overloaded with cares and ſorrows, and robbed of his laſt domeſtic comfort, this unhappy father broke out into expreſſions of the utmoſt deſpair: he curſed the day of his birth; and beſtowed on his undutiful and ungrateful children a malediction, which he could never be brought to retract [26]. The more his heart was diſpoſed to friendſhip and affection, the more he reſented the barbarous return, which his four ſons had ſucceſſively made to his parental care; and this fatal diſcovery, by depriving him of all that made life deſir-

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A. D. 1189

able, quite broke his ſpirit, and threw him into a lingering fever, of which he ſoon after expired, at the caſtle of Chinon, near Saumur, in Normandy.

THE character of Henry, both in public and private life, is almoſt without a blemiſh; and he poſſeſſed every accompliſhment, both of body and mind, which can make a man either eſtimable or amiable. He was of a middle ſtature, ſtrong and well proportioned; his countenance was lively and engaging; his converſation affable and entertaining; his elocution eaſy, perſuaſive, and ever at command. He loved peace, but poſſeſſed both bravery and conduct in war; was provident without timidity; ſevere in the execution of juſtice without rigour; and temperate without auſterity. He is ſaid to have been of a very amorous diſpoſition, and hiſtorians mention two of his natural ſons by Roſamond, the fair daughter of Lord Clifford; viz. Richard Longeſpee, or Longſword, (ſo called from the ſword which he generally wore) who married the heireſs of Saliſbury; and Geoffrey, firſt biſhop of Lincoln, and afterwards archbiſhop of York. The other circumſtances of the ſtory commonly told of that lady ſeem to be fabulous, though adopted by many hiſtorical writers.

LIKE moſt of his predeceſſors of the Norman line, Henry ſpent more of his time on the continent, than in this iſland. He was ſurrounded by the Engliſh nobility and gentry, when abroad; and the French nobility and gentry attended him, when he arrived in England. All foreign improvements, therefore, in literature and politeneſs, in laws and arts, ſeem now to have been tranſplanted into England; and the ſpirit of liberty, which ſtill animated the breaſts of the native Engliſh, communicated itſelf to the barons, who were all of Norman extraction, and made them both more

deſirous

desirous of independency themselves, and more willing to indulge it to the people. LETTER XXV.

THE effects of this secret revolution in the sentiments of men, we shall afterwards have occasion to trace: at present I must return to the affairs of Germany; remarking by the way, that Henry II. left only two legitimate sons, Richard, who succeeded him, and John, commonly denominated Lack Land, because he inherited no territory, though his father, at one time, intended to leave him a large part of his extensive dominions.

LETTER XXVI.

The GERMAN EMPIRE *and its Dependencies*, ROME, *and the* ITALIAN STATES, *under* FREDERIC I. *ſurnamed* BARBAROSSA, *with ſome Account of the third* CRUSADE.

LETTER XXVI.

A.D. 1152.

I HAVE already, my dear Boy, obſerved, that Frederic, duke of Suabia, ſurnamed Barbaroſſa, a prince of great courage and capacity, was unanimouſly elected emperor, on the death of his uncle Conrad III. not only by the Germans, but alſo by the Lombards, who gave their votes on this occaſion. His election was no ſooner known, than almoſt all the princes of Europe ſent ambaſſadors to Merſburg, to congratulate him on his elevation. The king of Denmark went thither in perſon for the inveſtiture of his dominions; and Frederic crowned him with his own hand, and received the oath of allegiance from him as a vaſſal of the empire [1].

BUT though the reign of Frederic thus auſpiciouſly commenced, it was ſoon involved in troubles, which required all his courage and capacity to ſurmount, and which it would be tedious circumſtantially to relate. I ſhall therefore only obſerve, that, after having ſettled the affairs of Germany, by reſtoring Bavaria to Henry the Lion, duke of Saxony [2], the emperor marched

A.D. 1153.

into Italy, in order to compoſe the diſturbances of that country, and be crowned by the pope, in imitation of his predeceſſors.

ADRIAN IV. who then filled St. Peter's chair, was an Engliſhman, and a great example of what may be done

done by perſonal merit and good fortune. The ſon of a Mendicant, and long a Mendicant himſelf, ſtrolling from country to country, he was received as a ſervant to the canons of St. Rufus in Provence; where, in time, he was admitted a monk, was raiſed to the rank of abbot, and general of the order, and at length to the pontificate. He was inclined to crown a vaſſal; but afraid of giving himſelf a maſter: he therefore inſiſted upon the Roman ceremonial; which required, that the emperor ſhould proſtrate himſelf before the pope, kiſs his feet, hold his ſtirrup, and lead the holy father's white palfrey by the bridle the diſtance of nine Roman paces.

FREDERIC looked upon this ceremony as an inſult, and refuſed to ſubmit to it. On this refuſal the cardinals fled, as if the emperor had given the ſignal of civil war; and the Roman chancery, which kept a regiſter of every thing of this kind, aſſured him, that his predeceſſors had always complied with theſe forms. The ceremony of kiſſing the pope's feet, which he knew to be the eſtabliſhed cuſtom, did not hurt Frederic's pride; but he could not bear that of holding the bridle and the ſtirrup, which he conſidered as an innovation; and indeed it does not appear that any emperor, except Lothario, ſucceſſor to Henry V. had complied with this part of the ceremony. Frederic's pride, however, at length digeſted theſe two ſuppoſed affronts, which he conſtrued only as empty marks of Chriſtian humility, but which the court of Rome viewed as proofs of real ſubjection [3].

BUT the emperor's difficulties were not yet over. The citizens of Rome ſent him a deputation, inſolently demanding the reſtoration of their ancient form of government, and offering to ſtipulate with him for the imperial dignity. "Charlemagne and Otho

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" conquered you by their valour," replied Frederic, " and I am your maſter by right of ſucceſſion: it is " mine to preſcribe laws, and yours to receive them." With theſe words he diſmiſſed the deputies, and was
A. D. 1155. inaugurated without the walls of the city by the pope; who put the ſceptre into his hand, and the crown upon his head [4].

THE nature of the empire was then ſo little underſtood, and the pretenſions ſo contradictory, that, on the one hand, the Roman citizens mutinied, and a great deal of blood was ſpilt, becauſe the pope had crowned the emperor, without the conſent of the ſenate and the people; and, on the other hand, pope Adrian, by all his letters, declared that he had conferred the *benefice* of the Roman empire on Frederic; " *beneficium imperii Romani:*" now the word *beneficium* literally ſignified a fief. Adrian likewiſe exhibited, publickly in Rome, a picture of the emperor Lothario, on his knees before pope Alexander II. holding both his hands joined between thoſe of the pontiff, which was the diſtinguiſhing mark of vaſſalage; and on the picture was this inſcription:

Rex venit ante fores, jurans priùs urbis honores:
Poſt homo fit, papæ; ſumit quo dante coronam [5].

" Before the gates the king appears,
" Rome's honours to maintain he ſwears;
" Then to the pope ſinks lowly down,
" Who grants him the imperial crown."

FREDERIC, who had retired to his German domi-
A.D. 1157. nions, was at Beſançon, when he received information of Adrian's inſolence; and having expreſſed his diſpleaſure at it, a cardinal then preſent made anſwer, " If he does not hold the empire of the pope, of whom " then does he hold it?" Enraged at this impertinent ſpeech,

ſpeech, Otho, count Palatine, would have run the author of it through the body, with the ſword which he wore as marſhal of the empire, had not Frederic prevented him. The cardinal immediately fled, and the pope entered into a treaty.—The Germans then made uſe of no argument but force, and the court of Rome ſheltered itſelf under the ambiguity of its expreſſions. Adrian declared, that *beneſice*, according to his idea, ſignified a *favour*, not a *fief*; and he promiſed to put out of the way the painting of the conſecration of Lothario [6].

A FEW obſervations will not here be improper. Adrian IV. beſieged by William I. king of Sicily, in Benevento, gave up to him ſeveral eccleſiaſtical pretenſions. He conſented that Sicily ſhould never have any legate, nor be ſubject to any appeal to the ſee of Rome, except with the king's permiſſion. Since which time, the kings of Sicily, though the only princes that are vaſſals of the pope, are in a manner popes themſelves in their own iſland. The Roman pontiffs, thus adored and abuſed, ſomewhat reſembled, to borrow a remark from Voltaire, the idols which the Indians ſcourge to obtain favours from them.

ADRIAN, however, fully revenged himſelf upon other princes who ſtood in need of him. He wrote in the following manner to Henry II. of England: "There is no doubt, and you know it very well, that "Ireland, and all the iſlands which have received "the faith, appertain to the church of Rome; but if "you want to take poſſeſſion of that iſland, in order "to baniſh vice from it, to enforce an obſervance of "the laws, and with an intent of paying the yearly "tribute of St. Peter's penny for every houſe, we "with pleaſure grant you our permiſſion to conquer "it [7]." Thus an Engliſh beggar, become biſhop of Rome,

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Rome, beſtowed Ireland, by his ſole authority, upon an Engliſh king, who wanted to uſurp it, and who had power to carry his deſign into execution.

THE intrepid activity of Frederic Barbaroſſa had not only the pope to ſubdue, who diſputed the empire, Rome, which refuſed to acknowledge a maſter, and many other cities of Italy, that aſſerted their independency; he had, at the ſame time, the Bohemians to humble, who had mutinied againſt him, and alſo the Poles, with whom he was at war. Yet all this he effected. He conquered Poland, and erected it into a tributary kingdom; he quelled the tumults in Bohe-
A.D. 1158. mia; and the king of Denmark renewed the homage for his dominions [8]. He ſecured the fidelity of the German princes, by rendering himſelf formidable to foreign nations; and flew back to Italy, where hopes of freedom had ariſen, on the troubles and perplexities of this prince. On his arrival, he found every thing in confuſion; not ſo much from the efforts of the ſeveral cities to recover their liberty, as from that party-rage, which conſtantly prevailed, as I have frequently had occaſion to obſerve, at the election of a pope.

ADRIAN IV. dying, two oppoſite factions tumul-
A.D. 1159. tuouſly elected two perſons, known by the names of Victor II. and Alexander III. The emperor's allies neceſſarily acknowledged the pope choſen by him; and thoſe princes, who were jealous of the emperor, acknowledged the other. What was the ſhame and ſcandal of Rome, then became the ſignal of diviſion over all Europe. Victor II. Frederic's pope, had Germany, Bohemia, and one half of Italy, on his ſide: the reſt ſubmitted to Alexander III. in honour of whom the Milaneſe, who were avowed enemies to the emperor, built the city of Alexandria. In vain did

did Frederic's party endeavour to have it called Cæsaria: the pope's name prevailed; and it was afterward called out of deriſion, *Alexandria del paglia*, or *Alexandria built of ſtraw*, on account of the meanneſs of its buildings[9].

HAPPY, my dear Boy, had it been for Europe, if that age had produced no other diſputes; but Milan, for maintaining its independency, was by the emperor's orders razed to the foundations, and ſalt ſtrewed upon its ruins; Breſcia and Placentia were diſmantled by the conqueror, and the other cities, which had aſpired at liberty, were deprived of their privileges. A.D. 1162.

Pope Alexander III. however, who had ſtirred them all up to revolt, returned to Rome, after the death of his rival; and, at his return, the civil war was renewed. The emperor cauſed another pope to be elected; who alſo dying in a ſhort time, a third was nominated by Frederic. Alexander then fled to France, the common aſylum of every pope who was oppreſſed by the emperors; but the flames of civil diſcord, which he had raiſed, continued to ſpread. The cities of Italy, ſupported by the Greek emperor, and the king of Sicily, entered into an aſſociation for the defence of their liberties; and the pope, at length, proved ſtronger, by negociating, than the emperor by fighting. The imperial army, worn out by fatigues and diſeaſes, was defeated by the confederates, and Frederic himſelf narrowly eſcaped. About the ſame time he was defeated at ſea by the Venetians, and his eldeſt ſon Henry, who commanded his fleet, fell into the hands of the enemy. Pope Alexander, in honour of this victory, ſailed out into the open ſea, accompanied by the whole ſenate; and, after having pronounced a thouſand benedictions on that element, threw into it a ring as a mark of his gratitude and affection. A.D. 1163. A.D. 1176.

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fection. Hence the origin of that ceremony which is annually performed by the Venetians, under the notion of eſpouſing the Adriatic[10].

In conſequence of theſe misfortunes, the emperor was diſpoſed to an accommodation with the pope; but his pride would not permit him to make an humiliating advance: he therefore rallied his troops, and exerted himſelf with ſo much vigour in repairing his loſs, that he was ſoon in a condition to riſk another battle, in which his enemies were worſted; and being no leſs a politician than a general, he ſeized this fortunate moment to ſignify his deſire of peace to pope Alexander, who received the propoſal with great joy, and Venice had the honour of being the place of reconciliation. The emperor, the pope, and a great many princes and cardinals, repaired to that city, then miſtreſs of the ſea, and one of the wonders of the
A. D 1177. world: there the emperor put an end to the diſpute, by acknowledging the pope, kiſſing his feet, and holding his ſtirrup, while he mounted his mule[11].

This reconciliation was attended with the ſubmiſſion of all the towns in Italy, which had entered into the aſſociation for their mutual defence. They obtained a general pardon, and were left at liberty to uſe their own laws and forms of government; but they were obliged to take the oath of allegiance to the emperor, as their ſuperior lord.

Calixtus, the antipope, finding himſelf abandoned by the emperor, in conſequence of this treaty, made his ſubmiſſions to Alexander, who received him with great humanity; and in order to prevent, for the future, thoſe ſchiſms which had ſo often attended the election of popes, he called a general council, in which it was decreed, that no pope ſhould be deemed duly elected,

ed, without having two thirds of the votes in his favour [12]. LETTER XXVI.

THE affairs of Italy being thus ſettled, the emperor returned to Germany; where Henry the Lion, duke of Saxony, had raiſed freſh troubles. He was a proud, haughty, and turbulent prince, like moſt of his predeceſſors, and not only oppreſſed his own ſubjects, but committed outrages againſt all his neighbours. Frederic, glad of an opportunity of being revenged upon Henry, who had abandoned him in his Italian expedition, convoked a diet at Goſlar, were the duke was A. D. 1179
put to the ban of the empire; and, after a variety of ſtruggles, the ſentence was put in execution: he was diveſted of all his dominions, which were beſtowed upon different vaſſals of the empire.

SENSIBLE of his folly when too late, duke Henry A.D. 1181
threw himſelf at the emperor's feet, and begged with great humility that ſome of his territories might be reſtored. Frederic, touched with his unfortunate condition, referred him to a diet of the empire, at Erfurt. There Henry endeavoured to acquit himſelf of the crimes laid to his charge; but, as it was impracticable to withdraw his fiefs, which were already diſpoſed of, Frederic adviſed him to reſide in England, until the princes who had ſhared his dominions could be perſuaded to relinquiſh them; and, in the mean time, he promiſed, that no attempts ſhould be made upon the territories of Brunſwick and Lunenburg, which he would protect in behalf of Henry's children. In compliance with this advice, the duke retired to England, where he was hoſpitably entertained by his father-in-law, Henry II. and there his wife bore him a fourth ſon, named William, from whom the preſent houſe of Brunſwick, and conſequently the preſent royal family of England, is deſcended [13].

WHILE

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WHILE tranquility was, in this manner, happily reſtored to Italy and Germany, the Oriental Chriſtians were in the utmoſt diſtreſs. The great Saladin, a prince of Perſian extraction, and born in the ſmall country of the Curdes, a nation always warlike and always free, having fixed himſelf, by his bravery and conduct, on the throne of Egypt, began to extend his conqueſts over all the Eaſt; and finding the ſettlements of the Chriſtians in Paleſtine an invincible obſtacle to the progreſs of his arms, he bent the whole force of his policy and valour to ſubdue that ſmall and barren, but important territory. Taking advantage of the diſſentions which prevailed among the champions of the croſs, and having ſecretly gained the count of Tripoli, who commanded their armies, he invaded Paleſtine with a mighty force; and aided by the treachery of that count, gained at Tiberiade a complete victory over them, which utterly annihilated the vigour of the already languiſhing kingdom of Jeruſalem. The
A. D. 1187. holy city itſelf fell into his hands, after a feeble reſiſtance; the kingdom of Antioch was almoſt entirely ſubdued; and except ſome maritime towns, nothing of importance remained of thoſe boaſted conqueſts, which, near a century before, had coſt the efforts of all Europe to acquire it.

CLEMENT III. who then filled the papal chair, no ſooner received theſe melancholy tidings, than he ordered a cruſade to be preached through all the countries in Chriſtendom. Europe was filled with grief and conſternation. Frederic Barbaroſſa, who was at that time employed in making regulations for the preſervation of the peace and good order of Germany, aſſem-
A. D. 1188. bled a diet at Mentz, in order to deliberate with the ſtates of the empire on this unhappy event: he took the croſs; and his example was followed by his ſon Frederic, duke of Suabia, together with ſixty-eight of

the

the firſt German nobles, eccleſiaſtics as well as laymen. The rendezvous was appointed at Ratiſbon; and in order to prevent the inconvenience of too great a multitude, Frederic decreed that no perſon ſhould take the croſs, who could not afford to expend three marks of ſilver. But notwithſtanding this regulation, wiſely calculated to prevent the neceſſities which ruined the former armies, ſo great was the zeal of the Germans, that adventurers aſſembled to the number of one hundred and fifty thouſand fighting men, well armed, and provided with neceſſaries for the expedition [15].

BEFORE his departure, Frederic made a progreſs thro' the principal cities of Germany, accompanied by his ſon Henry, to whom he intended to leave the government of his dominions; and that he might neglect no ſtep neceſſary to the preſervation of peace and tranquility during his abſence, he regulated the ſucceſſion ſo, as none of his children ſhould have cauſe to complain, or any pretext to diſturb the quiet of the empire.

THE emperor in perſon marched at the head of thirty thouſand men, by the way of Vienna, to Preſburg, where he was joined by the reſt of his army. He thence proceeded through Hungary, into the territories of the Greek emperor; who, notwithſtanding his profeſſions of friendſhip, had been detached from the intereſts of Frederic by Saladin's promiſes and inſinuations, and took all opportunities of harraſſing the Germans in their march. Incenſed at this perfidy, Frederic laid the country under contribution; took and plundered Philippolis; defeated a body of Greek troops that attacked him by ſurprize; and compelled Iſaacus Angelus, emperor of Conſtantinople, to ſue for peace. He wintered at Adrianople; croſſed the Helleſpont

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Helleſpont in the ſpring; refreſhed his troops a ſhort time at Laodicea; defeated the Turks in ſeveral battles; took and pillaged the city of Iconium, and croſſed mount Taurus: ſo that all Aſia was filled with the terror of his name. He ſeemed to be among the ſoldiers of the croſs, what Saladin was among the Turks; an able politician, and a good general, tried by fortune. The Oriental Chriſtians flattered themſelves with certain relief from his aſſiſtance: but their hopes were ſuddenly blaſted. This great prince, who was an expert ſwimmer, plunged into the cold river Cydnus, in order to refreſh himſelf from the ſultry heat of ſummer; and by that means caught a mortal diſtemper, which at once put an end to his life and his bold enterprize [15].

THUS, my dear Boy, periſhed Frederic I. in the ſixty-ninth year of his age, and the thirty-eighth of his reign, a prince of an enterpriſing ſpirit, and great capacity, who had the peace of his country always at heart, and who ſupported the dignity of the empire with equal courage and reputation. He was ſucceeded in the imperial throne by his ſon Henry VI. ſurnamed the Severe: but, before I ſpeak of that prince, I muſt carry forward the hiſtory of the third cruſade, continued by the kings of France and England.

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FRANCE *and* ENGLAND, *from the Death of* HENRY II. *to the granting of the* GREAT CHARTER *by King* JOHN, *with a further Account of the third* CRUSADE.

THE death of Henry II. my dear Boy, was an event eſteemed equally fortunate by his ſon Richard, and by Philip Auguſtus, king of France: Philip loſt a dangerous and implacable enemy, and Richard got poſſeſſion of that crown which he had ſo eagerly purſued. Both ſeemed to conſider the recovery of the Holy Land as the ſole purpoſe of their government; yet neither was ſo much impelled to that pious enterprize by ſuperſtition, as by the love of military glory. Richard, in particular, carried ſo little the appearance of ſanctity in his conduct, that, when adviſed by a zealous preacher of the cruſade (who from that merit had acquired the privilege of ſpeaking the boldeſt truths) to rid himſelf of his pride, avarice, and voluptuouſneſs, which the prieſt affectedly called the king's three favourite daughters. "You counſel "well," replied Richard—"and I hereby diſpoſe of "the firſt to the Templars, of the ſecond to the Be-"nedictines, and of the third to my biſhops[1]."

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THE reiterated calamities attending the cruſades, taught the kings of France and England the neceſſity of trying another road to the Holy Land: they determined to conduct their armies thither by ſea; to carry proviſions along with them; and, by means of their naval power, to maintain an open communication with their own ſtates, and with the weſtern parts

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of Europe. The firſt place of rendezvous was the plains of Vezelay, on the borders of Burgundy, where Philip and Richard found their armies amount to one hundred thouſand men: an invincible force, animated by religion and glory, and conducted by two warlike monarchs. They renewed their promiſes of mutual friendſhip; pledged their faith not to invade each other's dominions during the cruſade; and exchanged the oaths of all their barons and prelates to the ſame effect, then ſeparated: Philip took the road to Genoa, Richard that to Marſeilles, with a view of meeting their fleets, which were ſeverally appointed to aſſemble in theſe harbours [z]. They put to ſea together; and both nearly about the ſame time, were obliged by ſtreſs of weather to take ſhelter in Meſſina, where they were detained during the whole winter. This event laid the foundation of animoſities, which never afterwards entirely ſubſided, and proved fatal to their enterprize.

A. D. 1190.

But before I enter on that ſubject, a few words relative to the character of thoſe two princes will be neceſſary. Philip and Richard, though profeſſed friends, were by the ſituation and extent of their dominions rivals in power; by their age and inclinations competitors for glory; and theſe cauſes of emulation, which might have ſtimulated them to martial enterprizes, had they been employed in the field againſt the common enemy, during their preſent leiſure, ſoon excited quarrels between monarchs of ſuch fiery tempers. Equally haughty, ambitious, intrepid, and inflexible, they were irritated with the leaſt appearance of injury; and they were incapable, by mutual condeſcenſions, to efface thoſe cauſes of complaint, which mutually aroſe between them. The ſource of diſcord was as follows:

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WILLIAM II. the laſt king of Naples and Sicily, had married Joan, ſiſter to Richard; and that prince dying without iſſue, had bequeathed his dominions to his paternal ſiſter Conſtantia, the only legitimate offſpring ſurviving of Roger, the Norman, who conquered thoſe ſtates from the Greeks and Saracins, as you have already ſeen. Henry VI. then emperor of Germany, had married this princeſs, in expectation of that rich inheritance; but Tancred, her natural brother, by his intereſt among the nobles, had acquired poſſeſſion of the throne, and maintained his claim againſt all the efforts of the empire. The approach of the cruſaders naturally gave the Sicilian prince apprehenſions for his unſtable government; and he was uncertain whether he had moſt reaſon to dread the preſence of the French or the Engliſh monarch. Philip was engaged in ſtrict alliance with the emperor, Tancred's competitor; Richard was diſguſted by his rigours towards the queen-dowager, whom he confined in Palermo, becauſe ſhe had oppoſed his ſucceſſion to the crown: ſenſible therefore of the delicacy of his ſituation, Tancred reſolved to pay his court to both theſe princes; and he was not unſucceſsful in his endeavours. He perſuaded Philip, that it was highly improper to interrupt his enterprize againſt the Infidels by any attempt againſt a Chriſtian prince: he reſtored queen Joan to her liberty, and even found means to make an alliance with Richard. But before this friendſhip was ſettled, Richard, (jealous both of Tancred and the inhabitants of Meſſina) had taken up his quarters in the ſuburbs, and poſſeſſed himſelf of a ſmall fort, which commanded the harbour. The citizens took umbrage. Mutual inſults and attacks paſſed between them and the Engliſh. Philip, who had quartered his troops in the town, endeavoured to accommodate the quarrel; and held a conference with Richard for that purpoſe.

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A.D. 1192.

WHILE the two kings (meeting in the open fields) were engaged in diſcourſe on this ſubject, a body of the Sicilians ſeemed to be drawing towards them; and Richard puſhed forward, in order to learn the reaſon of this extraordinary movement. Inſolent from their power, and inflamed by former animoſities, the Engliſh wanted only a pretence for attacking the Miſſineſe: they chaſed them from the field, drove them into the town, and entered with them at the gates. Richard employed his authority to reſtrain them from pillaging and maſſacring the defenceleſs inhabitants; but he gave orders that the ſtandard of England, in token of his victory, ſhould be erected on the walls. Philip, who conſidered that place as his quarters, exclaimed againſt the arrogance of the Engliſh monarch, and ordered ſome of his troops to pull down the ſtandard: but Richard informed him by a meſſenger, that though he would willingly himſelf remove that ground of offence, he would not permit it to be done by others; and if the French king attempted ſuch an inſult on his dignity, he ſhould not ſucceed but by the utmoſt effuſion of blood. Philip, ſatisfied with this ſpecies of haughty condeſcenſion, recalled his orders, and the difference was ſeemingly accommodated; but the ſeeds of rancour and jealouſy ſtill remained in the breaſts of the two monarchs [3].

A.D. 1191.

AFTER leaving Sicily, the Engliſh fleet met with a furious tempeſt: it was driven on the coaſt of Cyprus; and ſome of the veſſels were wrecked near Lemiſſo in that iſland. Iſaac, prince of Cyprus, who had aſſumed the magnificent title of emperor, pillaged the ſhips that were ſtranded, and threw the ſeamen and paſſengers into priſon; but Richard, who arrived ſoon after, took ample vengeance on him for the injury. He diſembarked his troops; defeated the tyrant who oppoſed his landing; entered Lemiſſo by ſtorm;

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A. D 1191.

ſtorm; gained next day a ſecond victory; obliged Iſaac to ſurrender at diſcretion, and eſtabliſhed governors over the iſland. Thrown into priſon, and loaded with irons, the Greek prince complained of the little reſpect with which he was treated: Richard ordered ſilver fetters to be made for him; and this emperor, pleaſed with the diſtinction, expreſſed a ſenſe of the generoſity of his conqueror[4]!

RICHARD, by reaſon of the tranſactions at Cyprus, was later of arriving in Aſia than Philip; but the Engliſh army came in time to partake in the glory of the ſiege of Ptolemais, which had been attacked above two years by the united force of all the Chriſtians in Paleſtine, and had been defended by the utmoſt efforts of Saladin and the Saracins. Before this place, Frederic, duke of Suabia, ſon of the emperor Barbaroſſa, and who ſucceeded him in the command, together with the remains of the German army, had periſhed: but the arrival of the armies of France and England, with Philip and Richard at their head, inſpired new life into the beſiegers; and the emulation between theſe rival kings, and rival nations, produced extraordinary acts of valour. Richard, in particular, animated by a more precipitate courage than Philip, and more agreeable to the romantic ſpirit of that age, drew to himſelf the attention of all the world, and acquired a great and ſplendid reputation. Ptolemais was taken: the Saracin garriſon, reduced to the laſt extremity, ſurrendered themſelves priſoners of war; and the wood of the true croſs was reſtored[5].

THUS this famous ſiege, which had engaged the attention of all Europe and Aſia, was brought to a happy period, after the loſs of three hundred thouſand men. But Philip, inſtead of purſuing the hopes of farther conqueſt, and redeeming the holy city from

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A. D. 119[illegible].

ſlavery, being diſguſted with the aſcendant aſſumed and acquired by Richard, and having views of many advantages, which he might reap by his preſence in Europe, declared his reſolution of returning into France; and he pleaded his bad ſtate of health, as an excuſe for his deſertion of the common cauſe. He left however to Richard ten thouſand of his troops, under the command of the duke of Burgundy; and he renewed his oath never to commit hoſtilities againſt that prince's territories during his abſence: but he no ſooner reached Italy, than he applied to pope Celeſtine III. for a diſpenſation from his vow; and, when denied that requeſt, he ſtill proceeded, though after a more concealed manner, in his unjuſt projects. He ſeduced prince John, the king's brother, from his allegiance, and did every thing to blacken the character of king Richard; repreſenting him as privy to the murder of the marquis de Montferrat, who had been taken off, as was well known, by an Aſiatic chief, called *The Old Man of the Mountain*, the prince of the Aſſaſſins; a word which has found its way into moſt European languages, from the practice of theſe bold and determined ruffians, againſt whom no precaution was ſufficient to guard any man, however powerful, and whom the marquis had provoked [6].

A. D. 1192.

But Richard's heroic actions in Paleſtine were the beſt apology for his conduct. The Chriſtian adventurers under his command determined, on opening the campaign, to attempt the ſiege of Aſcalon, in order to prepare the way for that of Jeruſalem; and they marched along the ſea-coaſt with that intention. Saladin propoſed to intercept their paſſage, and placed himſelf on the road with an army of three hundred thouſand combatants. On this occaſion was fought one of the greateſt battles of that age; and the moſt celebrated for the military genius of the commanders,

for

for the number and valour of the troops, and for the great variety of events which attended it. Both the right wing of the Chriſtians, commanded by d'Aveſnes, and the left, conducted by the duke of Burgundy, were in the beginning of the day, broken and defeated; when Richard, who led on the main body, reſtored the battle; attacked the enemy with admirable intrepidity and preſence of mind; performed the part of a conſummate general and gallant ſoldier; and not only gave his two wings leiſure to recover from their confuſion, but obtained a complete victory over the Saracins, forty thouſand of whom are ſaid to have been ſlain in the field [7]. Aſcalon ſoon after fell into the hands of the Chriſtians: other ſieges were carried on with ſucceſs: Richard was even able to advance within ſight of Jeruſalem, the object of all his enterprizes, when he had the mortification to find, that he muſt abandon all hopes of immediate ſucceſs, and muſt put a ſtop to his career of victory.

ANIMATED with an enthuſiaſtic ardour for the holy wars, the champions of the croſs, at firſt, broke through all regards to ſafety or intereſt in the proſecution of their pious purpoſe; and, truſting to the immediate aſſiſtance of Heaven, ſet nothing before their eyes but fame and victory in this world, and a crown of glory in the next: but long abſence from home, fatigue, diſeaſe, famine, and the varieties of fortune which naturally attend war, had gradually abated that fury which nothing was able directly to withſtand. Every one, except the king of England, expreſſed a deſire of ſpeedily returning to Europe; ſo that there appeared an abſolute neceſſity of abandoning for the preſent all hopes of farther conqueſt, and of ſecuring the acquiſitions of the Chriſtians by an accommodation with Saladin. Richard, therefore, concluded a truce with that monarch; and ſtipulated that Ptole-

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mais, Joppa, and other ſea-port towns of Paleſtine, ſhould remain in the hands of the Chriſtians, and that every one of that religion ſhould have liberty to perform his pilgrimage unmoleſted. This truce was concluded for three years, three months, three weeks, three days, and three hours; a magical number, ſuggeſted by a ſuperſtition, well ſuited to the object of the war.

SALADIN died at Damaſcus, ſoon after the concluſion of the truce with the leaders of the cruſade. He was a prince of great generoſity and valour; and it is memorable, that during his laſt illneſs, he ordered his winding-ſheet to be carried as a ſtandard through every ſtreet of the city, while a crier went before the perſon who bore this enſign of mortality, and proclaimed with a loud voice, "This is all that remains "to the mighty Saladin, the conqueror of the Eaſt." His laſt will is alſo remarkable: he ordered charities to be diſtributed to the poor, without diſtinction of Jew, Chriſtian, or Mahometan; intending by this diſpoſition to inculcate, that all men are brethren, and that, when we would aſſiſt them, we ought not to inquire what they believe, but what they feel. An admirable leſſon to Chriſtians, though from an Infidel; but the advantage of ſcience, of moderation, and humanity, were at that time indeed entirely on the ſide of the Saracins.

AFTER the truce, Richard had no further buſineſs in Paleſtine; and the intelligence which he received of the intrigues of his brother John and the king of France, made him ſenſible that his preſence was neceſſary in Europe. Not thinking it ſafe, however, to paſs thro' France, he ſailed to the Adriatic; and being ſhipwrecked near Aquileia, he put on the habit of a pilgrim, with an intention of taking his journey ſecretly

cretly through Germany. But his liberalities and expences betrayed him; and he was arreſted and thrown into priſon by Leopold, duke of Auſtria, whom he had offended at the ſiege of Ptolemais, and who ſold him to the emperor Henry VI. who had taken offence at Richard's alliance with Tancred, king of Sicily, and was glad to have him in his power [10]. Thus the gallant king of England, who had filled the whole world with his renown, found himſelf, during the moſt critical ſtate of his affairs, confined to a dungeon, in the heart of Germany; loaded with irons, and entirely at the mercy of his enemy, the baſeſt and moſt ſordid of mankind [18]!

WHILE the high ſpirit of Richard ſuffered every inſult and indignity in Germany, the king of France employed every means of force and intrigue, of war and negociation, againſt the dominions and the perſon of his unfortunate rival. He made the emperor the largeſt offers, if he would deliver into his hands the royal priſoner; he formed an alliance by marriage with Denmark, deſiring that the ancient Daniſh claim to the crown of England might be transferred to him; he concluded a treaty with prince John, the king's brother, who is ſaid to have done homage to him for the Engliſh crown; and he invaded Normandy, while the traitor John attempted to make himſelf maſter of England [11].

In the meantime Richard being produced before a diet of the empire, made ſuch an impreſſion on the German princes by his eloquence and ſpirit, that they exclaimed loudly againſt the conduct of the emperor: the pope alſo threatened him with excommunication; and though Henry had liſtened to the propoſals of the king of France and prince John, he found it would be impracticable for him to execute his and their

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their baſe purpoſes, or detain any longer the king of England in captivity. He therefore concluded a treaty with Richard for his ranſom; and agreed to reſtore him to his freedom for about three hundred
A.D. 1193. thouſand pounds of our preſent money [12]—An enormous ſum in thoſe days!

As ſoon as Philip heard of Richard's delivery, he wrote to his confederate John, in theſe words: "Take "care of yourſelf; the devil is broke looſe." How different on this occaſion were the ſentiments of the Engliſh!— their joy was extreme on the appearance of their king, who had acquired ſo much glory, and who had ſpread the reputation of their name to the fartheſt Eaſt. After renewing the ceremony of his co-
A D. 1194. ronation, amid the acclamations of all ranks of people, and reducing the fortreſſes which ſtill remained in the hands of his brother's adherents, Richard paſſed over with an army into Normandy; impatient to make war upon Philip, and to revenge himſelf of the many injuries which he had received from that monarch [13].

When we conſider two ſuch powerful and warlike monarchs, inflamed with perſonal animoſity to each other, enraged by mutual injuries, excited by rivalſhip, impelled by oppoſite intereſts, and inſtigated by the pride and violence of their own temper; our curioſity is naturally raiſed, and we expect an obſtinate and furious war, diſtinguiſhed by the greateſt events, and concluded by ſome remarkable cataſtrophe. We find ourſelves, however, entirely diſappointed. The taking of a caſtle, the ſurpriſe of a ſtraggling party, a rencounter of horſe, which reſembles more a route than a battle, comprehend the whole of the exploits on both ſides: a certain proof, as a great hiſtorian, whom I have often had occaſion to quote, obſerves, of the weakneſs of princes in thoſe ages, and of the little authority

thority which they poſſeſſed over their refractory vaſſals [14]. LETTER XXVII.

DURING this war, which continued, with ſhort intervals, till Richard's death, prince John deſerted Philip, threw himſelf at his brother's feet, craved pardon for his offences, and was received into favour, at the interceſſion of queen Eleanor. "I forgive him "with all my heart," ſaid the king, "and hope I "ſhall as eaſily forget his offences as he will my "pardon [15]."

PEACE was juſt concluded between England and France, when Richard was unfortunately ſlain by an arrow, before an inconſiderable caſtle which he beſieged, in hopes of taking from one of his vaſſals a great maſs of gold which had been found hid in the earth. The ſtory is thus related: A.D. 1199.

VIDOMAR, viſcount of Limoges, had found a treaſure, of which he ſent part to the king, as a preſent: but Richard, as ſuperior lord, claimed the whole; and at the head of ſome Brabançons, beſieged the count in the caſtle of Chaluz, in order to make him comply with his demand. The garriſon offered to ſurrender: but the king replied, ſince he had taken the trouble to come thither and beſiege the place in perſon, he would take it by force, and hang every one of them. The ſame day Richard, accompanied by Marcadee, leader of his Brabançans, went to ſurvey the caſtle; when one Bertrand de Gourdon, an archer, took aim at him, and pierced his ſhoulder with an arrow. The king, however, gave orders for the aſſault, took the place, and hanged all the garriſon, except Gourdon, whom he reſerved for a more cruel execution [16].

RICHARD's wound was not in itſelf dangerous; but the

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the unſkilfulneſs of the ſurgeon made it mortal; and when the king found his end approaching, he ſent for Gourdon, and demanded the reaſon, why he ſought his life. "My father, and my two brothers," replied the undaunted ſoldier, "fell by your ſword; and you "intended to have hanged me: I am now in your "power; and you may do your worſt: but I ſhall "endure the moſt ſevere torments with pleaſure, pro-"vided I can think that Heaven has afforded me ſuch "a great revenge, as, with my own hand, to be the "cauſe of your death." Struck with the gallantneſs of this reply, and humbled by his approaching diſſolution, Richard ordered the priſoner to be ſet at liberty, and a ſum of money to be given him; but Marcadee, a ſtranger to ſuch generoſity, ſeized the unhappy man, flaed him alive, and then hanged him [17].

THE moſt ſhining part of Richard's character was his military talents. No man, even in that romantic age, carried perſonal courage and intrepidity to a greater height; and this quality obtained him the appellation of *cœur de lion*, or the lion-hearted. As he left no iſſue behind him, he was ſucceeded by his brother John.

THE ſucceſſion was diſputed by Arthur, duke of Britanny, ſon of Geoffrey, the elder brother of John; and the barons of Anjou, Maine, and Touraine, declared in favour of this young prince's title. The king of France, whoſe daughter he eſpouſed, alſo aſſiſted him; and every thing promiſed ſucceſs, when Arthur was unfortunately taken priſoner by his uncle
A.D. 1203. John, and inhumanly murdered.

THE fate of this unhappy prince is differently related, but the following account ſeems the moſt probable: after having employed unſucceſsfully different aſſaſſins,

aſſaſſins, John went himſelf in a boat, by night, to the caſtle of Rouen, where Arthur was confined, and ordered him to be brought forth. Aware of his danger, and ſubdued by the continuance of his misfortunes, and by the approach of death, the brave youth, who had before gallantly maintained the juſtice of his cauſe, threw himſelf on his knees before his uncle, and begged for mercy: but the barbarous tyrant, making no reply, ſtabbed his nephew to the heart; and faſtening a ſtone to the dead body, threw it into the Seine [18].

JOHN's misfortunes commenced with his crime: the whole world was ſtruck with horror at his barbarity; and he was from that moment deteſted by his ſubjects, both at home and abroad. The Britons, diſappointed in their fondeſt hopes, waged implacable war againſt him, in order to revenge the murder of their duke; and they carried their complaints before the French monarch, as ſuperior lord, demanding juſtice for the inhuman violence committed by John on the perſon of Arthur. Philip received their application with pleaſure: he ſummoned John to ſtand trial before him and his peers; and, on his non-appearance, he was declared guilty of felony and parricide, and all his foreign dominions were adjudged forfeited to the crown of France [19]. A.D. 1203

NOTHING now remained but the execution of this ſentence, in order to complete the glory of Philip, whoſe active and ambitious ſpirit had long with impatience borne the neighbourhood of ſo powerful a vaſſal as the king of England: he therefore greedily embraced the preſent favourable opportunity of annexing to the French crown the Engliſh dominions on the continent; a project which the ſound policy of Henry, and the military genius of Richard, had rendered

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dered impracticable to the moſt vigorous efforts, and moſt dangerous intrigues, of this able and artful prince. But the general defection of John's vaſſals rendered every enterprize eaſy againſt him; and Philip not
A.D. 1205. only reunited Normandy to the crown of France, but ſucceſſively reduced Anjou, Maine, Touraine, and part of Poitou, under his dominion [20]. Thus by the baſeneſs of one prince, and the intrepidity of another, the French monarchy received, in a few years, ſuch an acceſſion of power and grandeur, as in the ordinary courſe of things, it would have required ſeveral ages to attain.

John's arrival in England completed his diſgrace. He ſaw himſelf univerſally deſpiſed by the barons, on account of his puſillanimity and baſeneſs; and a quarrel with the clergy drew upon him the contempt of that order, and the indignation of Rome. The papal chair was then filled by Innocent III. who having attained that dignity at a more early period of life than uſual, and being endowed with a lofty and enterpriſing genius, gave full ſcope to his ambition, and attempted, perhaps, more openly than any of his predeceſſors, to convert that ſuperiority, which was yielded him by all the European princes, into a real dominion over them. To this pontiff an appeal was made relative to the election of an archbiſhop of Canterbury: two primates had been elected; one by the monks or canons of Chriſt church, Canterbury, and one by the ſuffragan biſhops, who had the king's approbation. The pope declared both elections void; and commanded the monks, under penalty of excommunication, to chuſe for their primate cardinal Langton, an Engliſhman by birth, but educated in France, and connected by his intereſts and attachments with the ſee of Rome. The monks complied; and John, inflamed with rage at ſuch an uſurpation of his prerogative, expelled them

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the convent; ſwearing by God's teeth, his uſual oath, that if the pope gave him any farther diſturbance, he would baniſh all the biſhops and clergy of England [21]. Innocent however knew his weakneſs, and laid the kingdom under an interdict; at that time the great inſtrument of vengeance and policy employed by the court of Rome. LETTER XXVII. A.D. 1206.

THE execution of this ſentence was artfully calculated to ſtrike the ſenſes in the higheſt degree, and to operate with irreſiſtible force on the ſuperſtitious minds of the people. The nation was ſuddenly deprived of all exterior exerciſe of its religion; the altars were deſpoiled of their ornaments: the croſſes, the reliques, the images, the ſtatues of the ſaints were laid on the ground; and, as if the air itſelf were profaned, and might pollute them by its contact, the prieſts carefully covered them up, even from their own approach and veneration. The uſe of bells entirely ceaſed in all the churches; the bells themſelves were removed from the ſteeples, and laid on the ground with the other ſacred utenſils. Maſs was celebrated with ſhut doors; and none but the prieſts were admitted to that holy inſtitution. The laity partook of no religious rite, except baptiſm to new-born infants, and the communion to the dying. The dead were not interred in conſecrated ground: they were thrown into ditches, or buried in the common fields; and their obſequies were not attended with prayers, or any hallowed ceremony. The people were prohibited the uſe of meat, as in Lent, and debarred from all pleaſures and amuſements. Every thing wore the appearance of the deepeſt diſtreſs, and of the moſt immediate apprehenſions of divine vengeance and indignation [22].

WHILE England groaned under this dreadful ſentence, a new and very extraordinary ſcene diſcloſed itſelf

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ſelf on the continent. Pope Innocent III. publiſhed a cruſade againſt the Albigenſes, a ſpecies of ſectaries in the South of France, whom he denominated heretics; becauſe, like all ſectaries, they neglected the rites of the church, and oppoſed the power and influence of the clergy. Moved by that mad ſuperſtition, which had hurried ſuch armies into Aſia, in order to combat the Infidels, and the reigning paſſion for wars and adventures, people flocked from all parts of Europe to the ſtandard of Simon de Montfort, the general of this cruſade. The count de Thouloufe, who protected the Albigenſes, was ſtript of his dominions; and theſe unhappy people themſelves, though the moſt inoffenſive of mankind, were exterminated with all the circumſtances of the moſt unfeeling barbarity [23].

INNOCENT having thus made trial of his power, carried ſtill further his eccleſiaſtical ſentences againſt the king of England, who was now both deſpiſed and hated by his ſubjects of all ranks and conditions. He gave the biſhops of London, Ely, and Worceſter, authority to denounce againſt John the ſentence of excommunication: his ſubjects were abſolved from
A. D. 1213. their oath of allegiance; and a ſentence of depoſition ſoon followed. But as this laſt ſentence required an armed force to execute it, the pontiff pitched on Philip, king of France, as the perſon into whoſe hand he could moſt properly entruſt ſo terrible a weapon; and he proffered that monarch, beſides the remiſſion of all his ſins, and endleſs ſpiritual benefits, the kingdom of England, as the reward of his labour [24].

SEDUCED by the proſpect of preſent intereſt, Philip accepted the pope's liberal offer; though he thereby ratified an authority, which might one day tumble him from his throne, and which it was the common concern of all princes to oppoſe. He levied a great army;

army; ſummoned all the vaſſals of his crown to attend him at Rouen; collected a fleet of ſeventeen hundred veſſels, great and ſmall, in the ſea-ports of Normandy and Picardy; and partly by the zeal of the age, partly by the perſonal regard univerſally paid him, prepared a force, which ſeemed equal to the greatneſs of his enterpriſe. John, on the other hand, iſſued out writs, requiring the attendance of all his military vaſſals at Dover, and even of all able-bodied men, to defend the kingdom in this dangerous extremity. An infinite number appeared; out of which he ſelected an army of ſixty thouſand men[25]: he had alſo a formidable fleet at Portſmouth; and he might have relied on the fidelity of both; not indeed from their attachment to him, but from that ſpirit of emulation which has ſo long ſubſiſted between the natives of England and France.

All Europe was held in expectation of a deciſive action between the two kings; when the pope artfully tricked them both, and took to himſelf that tempting prize, which he had pretended to beſtow on Philip. This extraordinary tranſaction was negociated by Pandolfo, the pope's legate to France and England. In his way through France, he obſerved Philip's great armament, and highly commended his zeal and diligence: he thence paſſed to Dover, under pretence of negociating with the barons in favour of the French king, and had a conference with John on his arrival. He magnified to that prince the number of the enemy, and the diſaffection of his own ſubjects; intimating, that there was but one way to ſecure himſelf from the impending danger, namely, to put himſelf under the protection of the pope, who, like a kind and merciful father, was ſtill willing to receive him into his boſom.

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A D. 1213.

JOHN, labouring under the apprehenſions of preſent terror, conſented to the legate's propoſal, and agreed to hold his dominions as feudatory of the church of Rome. In conſequence of this agreement, he did homage to the pope in the perſon of his legate Pandolfo, with all the humiliating rites which the feudal law required of vaſſals before their liege-lord and ſuperior. He came diſarmed into the preſence of the legate, who was ſeated on a throne; he threw himſelf on his knees before it; he lifted up his joined hands, and put them between thoſe of Pandolfo; and he ſwore fealty to the pope in the following words: "I John, by the grace of God, king of "England and lord of Ireland, for the expiation of "my ſins, and out of my own free will, with the ad-"vice and conſent of my barons, do give unto the "church of Rome, and to pope Innocent III. and his "ſucceſſors, the kingdoms of England and Ireland, "together with all the rights belonging to them; and "will hold them of the pope, as his vaſſal. I will be "faithful to God, to the church of Rome, to the pope "my lord, and to his ſucceſſors lawfully elected: and "I bind myſelf to pay him a tribute of one thouſand "marks of ſilver yearly; to wit, ſeven hundred for "the kingdom of England, and three hundred for Ire-"land [25]."

PART of the money was immediately paid to the legate, as an earneſt of the ſubjection of the kingdom; after which the crown and ſceptre were alſo delivered to him. The inſolent Italian trode the money under his feet, but he kept the regalia five days; at the end of which he returned them to the king, as a favour from the pope, their common maſter.

DURING this ſhameful negociation, Philip Auguſtus waited impatiently at Boulogne for the legate's return, in order to put to ſea. The legate at length returned;

returned; and the king was given to underſtand, that he was no longer permitted to attack England, which was become a fief of the church of Rome, and its king a vaſſal of the holy ſee. Philip was enraged at this intelligence; he ſwore he would no longer be the dupe of ſuch hypocritical pretences: and, indeed, would not have deſiſted from his enterpriſe but for weightier reaſons. His fleet was utterly deſtroyed by the Engliſh; and the Emperor Otho IV. who at once diſputed the empire with Frederic II. ſon to Henry VI. and Italy with the pope, as we ſhall afterwards have occaſion to ſee, had entered into an alliance with his uncle, the king of England, in order to oppoſe the deſigns of France, now become formidable to the reſt of Europe. With this view he put himſelf at the head of a prodigious force; and the French monarch ſeemed in danger of being cruſhed, for having accepted of a preſent made him by the pope.

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PHILIP, however, advanced undiſmayed to meet his enemies, with an army of fifty thouſand choſen men, commanded by the chief nobility of France; twelve hundred knights, and between ſix and ſeven thouſand *gens-d'armes*. The emperor Otho, on the other ſide, had with him the earl of Saliſbury, baſtard brother to king John, the count of Flanders, the duke of Brabant, ſeven or eight German princes, and a force ſuperior to that of Philip. The two armies met near the village of Bouvines, between Liſle and Tournay, where the allies were totally routed, and thirty thouſand Germans are ſaid to have been ſlain [27].

A.D. 1214.

THIS victory eſtabliſhed for ever the glory of Philip, and gave full ſecurity to all his dominions. John could therefore hope for nothing further, than thenceforth to rule his own kingdom in peace; and his cloſe alliance with the pope, which he was determined at any price to maintain, enſured him, as he imagined,

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A.D. 1214.

the certain attainment of that felicity. How much was he deceived! a truce was indeed concluded with France; but the moſt grievous ſcene of this prince's misfortunes ſtill awaited him: he was doomed to humble himſelf before his own ſubjects, that the rights of Engliſhmen might be reſtored, and the privileges of humanity ſecured and aſcertained.

THE conqueſt of England by William the Norman, and the introduction of the feudal laws into the kingdom, had much infringed the liberties of the natives: the whole people were reduced to a ſtate of vaſſalage under the king or barons, and even the greater part of them to a ſtate of actual ſlavery. The neceſſity alſo of devolving great power into the hands of a prince, who was to maintain a military dominion over a vanquiſhed nation, had induced the Norman barons to ſubject themſelves to a more abſolute authority, than men of their rank commonly ſubmitted to, in other feudal governments: ſo that England, during the courſe of an hundred and fifty years, had groaned under a tyranny unknown to all the kingdoms founded by the northern conquerors. Prerogatives once exalted are not eaſily reduced. Different conceſſions had been made by different princes, in order to ſerve their temporary purpoſes; but the ſame unlimited authority continued to be exerciſed both by them and their ſucceſſors. The feeble reign of John, a prince equally odious and contemptible to the whole nation, ſeemed therefore to afford all ranks of men a happy opportunity of recovering their natural and conſtitutional rights; and it was not neglected.

THE barons entered into a confederacy, and formally demanded a reſtoration of their privileges; and, that their cauſe might wear the greater appearance of juſtice, they alſo included thoſe of the clergy and the people.

people. They took arms to enforce their requeſt: they laid waſte the royal domains: and John, after employing a variety of expedients, in order to divert the blow aimed at the prerogatives of his crown, was obliged to lower himſelf, and treat with his ſubjects. LETTER XXVII.

A conference was held between the king and the barons at Runnemede, between Windſor and Staines; a ſpot ever ſince deſervedly celebrated, as the birth-place of Engliſh liberty. There John, after a debate of ſome days, ſigned and ſealed the famous *Magna Charta*, or GREAT CHARTER; which either granted or ſecured very important privileges to every order of men in the kingdom—to the barons, to the clergy, and to the people.

WHAT theſe privileges particularly were you will beſt learn, my dear Boy, from the charter itſelf, which deſerves your moſt early and continued attention, as it involves all the great out-lines of a legal government, and provides for the equal diſtribution of juſtice, and free enjoyment of property; the chief objects for which political ſociety was firſt founded by men, which the people have a perpetual and unalienable right to recall, and which no time, nor precedent, nor ſtatute, nor poſitive inſtitution, ought to deter them from keeping ever uppermoſt in their thoughts.

IN order to ſecure the execution of this charter, the barons ſtipulated with the king for the privilege of chooſing five and twenty members of their own body, as conſervators of the public liberties; and no bounds were ſet to the authority of theſe men, either in extent or duration. If complaint was made of a violation of the charter, any four of the conſervators might admoniſh the king to redreſs the grievance; and if

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ſatisfaction was not obtained, they could aſſemble the whole council of twenty-five; who, in conjunction with the great council of the nation, were impowered to compel him to obſerve the charter; and, in caſe of reſiſtance, might levy war againſt him. All men throughout the kingdom were bound, under penalty of confiſcation, to ſwear obedience to the five and twenty barons; and the freeholders of each county were to chooſe twelve knights, who were to make report of ſuch evil cuſtoms as required redreſs, conformable to the tenor of the Great Charter [28].

In what manner John acted after the granting of that charter, and theſe regulations, to which he ſeemed paſſively to ſubmit, together with their influence on the Engliſh conſtitution, and on the affairs of France, we ſhall afterwards have occaſion to ſee. At preſent you muſt caſt your eye on the other ſtates of Europe.

LETTER XXVIII.

The GERMAN EMPIRE *and its Dependencies*, ROME, *and the* ITALIAN STATES, *from the Acceſſion of* HENRY VI. *to the Election of* RODOLPH *of* HAPSBURG, *Founder of the Houſe of* AUSTRIA, *with a Continuation of the Hiſtory of the* CRUSADES.

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IT is neceſſary, my dear Boy, that I ſhould here recapitulate a little; for there is no portion of Modern Hiſtory more perplexed, than that under review.

THE emperor Frederic Barbaroſſa died, as you have already ſeen, in his expedition to the Holy Land, and his ſon, Henry VI. received almoſt at the ſame time intelligence of the death of his father, and of his brother-in-law, William king of Naples and Sicily, to whoſe dominions he was heir in right of his wife. After ſettling the affairs of Germany, he levied an army, and marched into Italy, in order to be crowned by the pope, and go with the empreſs Conſtantia to recover the ſucceſſion of Sicily, which was uſurped by Tancred, her natural brother. For this purpoſe he endeavoured to conciliate the affections of the Lombards, by enlarging the privileges of Genoa, Piſa, and other cities, in his way to Rome; where the ceremony of the coronation was performed by Celeſtin III. on the day after Eaſter, when a very remarkable circumſtance happened. That pope, who was then in his eighty-ſixth year, had no ſooner placed the crown upon Henry's head, than he kicked it off again; as a teſtimony of the power reſiding in the ſovereign pontiff, to make and unmake emperors [1].

A.D. 1190.

A.D. 1191.

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A.D. 1191.

HENRY now prepared for the conqueſt of Naples and Sicily, in which he was oppoſed by the pope: for though Celeſtin conſidered Tancred as an uſurper, and wanted to ſee him deprived of the crown of Sicily, which he claimed, in imitation of his predeceſſors, as a fief of the Holy See, he was ſtill more averſe to the emperor's poſſeſſing that kingdom; becauſe ſuch an acceſſion of territory would have rendered him too powerful in Italy for the intereſts of the church. He dreaded ſo formidable a vaſſal. Henry, however, without paying any regard to the threats and remonſtrances of his Holineſs, took almoſt all the towns of Campania, Apulia, and Calabria; inveſted the city of Naples, and ſent for the Genoeſe fleet, which he had engaged to come and form the blockade by ſea; but before its arrival, he was obliged to raiſe the ſiege, in conſequence of a dreadful mortality among his troops: and all future attempts upon Sicily were ineffectual during the life of Tancred [2].

A.D. 1192.

THE emperor, after his return to Germany, incorporated the Teutonic knights into a regular order, religious and military, and built a houſe for them at Coblentz [3]. Theſe Tuetonic knights, and alſo the Knights Templars, and Knights Hoſpitallers, were originally monks, who ſettled in Jeruſalem, when it was firſt taken by the champions of the croſs. They were eſtabliſhed into religious fraternities for the relief of diſtreſſed pilgrims, and for the care of the ſick and the wounded, without any hoſtile purpoſe; but the holy city being afterwards in danger, they took up arms, and made a vow to combat the Infidels, as they had formerly done to combat their own carnal inclinations. The enthuſiaſtic zeal of the times increaſed their members; they grew wealthy and honourable; were patronized in Europe by different princes, and became a militia of conquerors.—What is farther neceſſary to be

be known relative to theſe extraordinary ſocieties, you will find in the Hiſtory of the Religious and Military Orders. Their exploits I ſhall have occaſion to obſerve.

In what manner Richard, king of England, was arreſted on his return from the Holy Land, by Leopold, duke of Auſtria, and detained priſoner by the emperor, I have already related. As ſoon as Henry had received the money for that priſoner's ranſom, he made new preparations for the conqueſt of Sicily; and Tancred dying about this time, he effected his purpoſe by the aſſiſtance of the Genoeſe. The queen dowager ſurrendered Salerno, and her right to the crown, on condition that her ſon William ſhould poſſeſs the principality of Tarentum; but Henry, joining the moſt atrocious cruelty to the baſeſt perfidy, no ſooner found himſelf maſter of the place, than he ordered the infant king to be caſtrated, to have his eyes put out, and be confined in a dungeon. The royal treaſure was tranſported to Germany, and the queen and her daughter were ſhut up in a convent [4]. A.D. 1194.

While theſe things were tranſacting in Sicily, the empreſs, tho' near the age of fifty, was delivered of a ſon, named Frederic; and Henry, in the plenitude of his power, aſſembled ſoon after a diet of the German princes, to whom he explained his intention of rendering the imperial crown hereditary, in order to prevent thoſe diſturbances which attended the election of emperors. A decree was paſſed for that purpoſe; and Frederic, yet in his cradle, was declared king of the Romans [5]. A.D. 1196.

In the meantime the emperor was ſolicited by the pope, to engage in a new cruſade, for the relief of the Chriſtians in the Holy Land; and Henry obeyed, but took care to turn it to his advantage. He convoked a general

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general diet at Worms, where he ſolemnly declared his reſolution of employing his whole power, and even of hazarding his life for the accompliſhment of ſo holy an enterpriſe; and he expatiated upon the ſubject with ſo much eloquence, that almoſt the whole aſſembly took the croſs. Nay, ſuch multitudes from all the provinces of the empire enliſted themſelves, that Henry divided them into three large armies; one of which, under the command of the biſhop of Mentz, took the route of Hungary, where it was joined by Margaret, queen of that country, who entered herſelf in this pious expedition, and actually ended her days in Paleſtine: the ſecond was aſſembled in Lower Saxony, and embarked in a fleet furniſhed by the inhabitants of Lubec, Hamburg, Holſtein, and Friezland; and the emperor in perſon conducted the third into Italy, in order to take vengeance on the Normans in Naples and Sicily, who had riſen againſt his government[6].

THE rebels were humbled; and their chiefs were condemned to periſh by the moſt excruciating tortures. One Jornandi, of the houſe of the Norman princes, was tied naked on a chair of red-hot iron, and crowned with a circle of the ſame burning metal, which was nailed to his head. The empreſs ſhocked at ſuch cruelty, renounced her faith to her huſband, and encouraged her countrymen to recover their liberties. Reſolution ſprung from deſpair. The inhabitants betook themſelves to arms; the empreſs Conſtantia headed them; and Henry having diſmiſſed his troops, no longer thought neceſſary to his bloody purpoſes, and ſent them to purſue their expedition to the Holy Land, (bleſſed atonement for his crimes and theirs!) was obliged to ſubmit to his wife, and to the conditions which ſhe was pleaſed to impoſe on him in favour of
A.D. 1197. the Sicilians. He died at Meſſina, ſoon after this treaty; and, as was ſuppoſed, of poiſon adminiſtered by the empreſs,

empreſs, who ſaw the ruin of her country hatching in his perfidious and vindictive heart [7]. LETTER XXVIII.

But Henry, amid all his baſeneſs, poſſeſſed many great qualities: he was active, eloquent, brave: his adminiſtration was vigorous, and his policy deep; and, to conclude his tyrannic character, none of the ſucceſſors of Charlemagne were ever more feared and obeyed, both at home and abroad.

The emperor's ſon Frederic, as you have ſeen, my dear Boy, had already been declared king of the Romans, and conſequently became emperor on the death of his father; but as Frederic II. was yet a minor, the adminiſtration was committed to his uncle the duke of Suabia, both by the will of Henry and by an aſſembly of the German princes. Other princes, however, incenſed to ſee an elective empire become hereditary, held a new diet at Cologne, and choſe Otho duke of Brunſwick, ſon of Henry the Lion. Frederic's title was confirmed in a third aſſembly, at Arnſburg; and his uncle, Philip duke of Suabia, was elected king of the Romans, in order to give greater weight to his adminiſtration [8]. A. D. 1198.

These two elections divided the empire into two powerful factions, and involved all Germany in ruin and deſolation. Innocent III. who had ſucceeded Celeſtin in the papal chair, threw himſelf into the ſcale of Otho, and excommunicated Philip and all his adherents. This able and ambitious pontiff (of whom I have already had occaſion to ſpeak) was a ſworn enemy of the houſe of Suabia; not from any perſonal animoſity, but out of a principle of policy. That houſe had long been terrible to the popes, by its continual poſſeſſion of the imperial crown; and the acceſſion of the kingdom of Naples and Sicily, made it ſtill more to be dreaded:

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ed: Innocent, therefore, gladly ſeized the preſent favourable opportunity for diveſting it of the empire, by ſupporting the election of Otho, and ſowing diviſions among the Suabian party. Otho was alſo patroniſed by his uncle, the king of England; which naturally inclined the king of France to the ſide of his rival. Faction claſhed with faction; friendſhip, with intereſt: caprice, ambition, or reſentment, gave the ſway; and nothing was beheld on all hands, but the horrors and the miſeries of civil wars [9].

MEANWHILE the empreſs Conſtantia remained in Sicily, where all was peace, as regent and guardian for her infant ſon, Frederic II. who had been crowned king of that iſland, with the conſent of pope Celeſtin III. But ſhe alſo had her troubles. A new inveſtiture from the Holy See being neceſſary, on the death of Celeſtin, Innocent III. his ſucceſſor, took advantage of the critical ſituation of affairs for aggrandizing the papacy, at the expence of the kings of Sicily. They poſſeſſed, as has been already obſerved, the privilege of filling up vacant benefices, and of judging all eccleſiaſtical cauſes in the laſt appeal: they were really popes in their own iſland, though vaſſals of his Holineſs. Innocent pretended that theſe powers had been ſurreptitiouſly obtained; and demanded, that Conſtantia ſhould renounce them in the name of her ſon, and do liege, pure and ſimple homage for Sicily. But before any thing was ſettled relative to this affair,
A.D. 1200 the empreſs died, leaving the regency of the kingdom to the pope; ſo that he was enabled to preſcribe what conditions he thought proper to young Frederic [10].

THE troubles of Germany ſtill continued; and the pope redoubled his efforts, to detach the princes and prelates from the cauſe of Philip, notwithſtanding the remonſtrances of the king of France, to whom he proudly

proudly replied, "Either Philip muſt loſe the empire, "or I the papacy [11]."

BUT all theſe diſſentions and troubles in Europe, did not prevent the formation of another cruſade, or expedition into Aſia, for the recovery of the Holy Land. Thoſe who took the croſs were principally French and Germans: Baldwin, count of Flanders, was their commander; and the Venetians, as greedy of wealth and power as the ancient Carthaginians, furniſhed them with ſhips, for which they took care to be amply paid, both in money and territory. The Chriſtian city of Zara, in Dalmatia, had withdrawn itſelf from the government of the republic: the army of the croſs undertook to reduce it to obedience: and it was beſieged and taken, notwithſtanding the threats and excommunications of the pope [12]. Nothing can ſhew in a ſtronger light the reigning ſpirit of thoſe pious adventurers. A.D. 1203.

THE ſtorm next broke upon Conſtantinople. Iſaac Angelus, the Greek emperor, had been dethroned, and deprived of his ſight, in 1195, by his brother Alexis; and Iſaac's ſon, named alſo Alexis, who had made his eſcape into Germany, and was then in the army of the cruſade, implored their aſſiſtance againſt the uſurper, engaging, in caſe of ſucceſs, to furniſh them with proviſions, to pay them a large ſum of money, and to ſubmit himſelf to the juriſdiction of the pope. By their means the lawful prince was reſtored. He ratified the treaty made by his ſon, and died; when young Alexis, who was hated by the Greeks for having called in the Latins, became the victim of a new faction. One of his relations, ſurnamed Mirziflos, ſtrangled him with his own hands, and uſurped the imperial throne [13].

BALDWIN and his followers, who wanted only an apology

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A.D. 1224.

apology for their violence, had now a good one; and under pretence of revenging the death of Alexis, made themſelves maſters of Conſtantinople. They entered it with little or no reſiſtance; put every one who oppoſed them to the ſword; and gave themſelves up to all the exceſſes of avarice and fury. The booty of the French lords alone, was valued at four hundred thouſand marks of ſilver: the very churches were pillaged: and what ſtrongly marks the character of that giddy nation, which has been at all times nearly the ſame, we are told by Nicetas, that the French officers danced with the ladies in the ſanctuary of the church of St. Sophia, after having robbed the altar, and drenched the city in blood [14]!

THUS was Conſtantinople, the moſt flouriſhing Chriſtian city in the world, taken for the firſt time, and ſacked by Chriſtians, who had made a vow to fight only againſt Infidels! Baldwin, count of Flanders, the moſt powerful of theſe ravagers, got himſelf elected emperor, and this new uſurper condemned the other uſurper, Mirziflos, to be thrown headlong from the top of a lofty column. The Venetians had for their ſhare Peloponneſus, the iſland of Candia, and ſeveral cities on the coaſt of Phrygia, which had not yet ſubmitted to the Turkiſh yoke. The marquis de Monferrat ſeized Theſſaly; ſo that Baldwin had little left except Thrace and Meſia. The pope gained, for a time, the whole Eaſtern church; and, in a word, an acquiſition was made of much greater conſequence than Paleſtine. Of this indeed the conquerors ſeemed fully convinced; for notwithſtanding the vow they had taken, to go and ſuccour Jeruſalem, only a very inconſiderable number of the many knights, who had engaged in this pious enterpriſe, went into Syria, and thoſe were ſuch as could get no ſhare inthe ſpoils of the Greeks [15].

INNO-

INNOCENT III. ſpeaking of this conqueſt ſays, "God, willing to conſole his church, by the re-union "of the ſchiſmatics, has made the empire paſs from "the proud, ſuperſtitious, diſobedient Greeks, to the "humble, pious, catholic, and ſubmiſſive Latins." So eaſy is it, by words, to give that complexion to perſons and things, which moſt favours our intereſts and our prejudices!

I SHOULD now, my dear Boy, return to the affairs of Germany; but a few more particulars, conſequent on the taking of Conſtantinople, require firſt to be noted, as they cannot afterwards be brought properly under review.

THERE ſtill remained a number of princes of the imperial houſe of Comnenus, who did not loſe their courage with the deſtruction of their empire. One of theſe, who bore among others the name of Alexis, took refuge on the coaſt of Colchis; and there, between the ſea and mount Caucaſus, erected a petty ſtate, to which he gave the name of the empire of Trebiſond; ſo much was the word empire abuſed!— Theodore Laſcarus retook Nice, and ſettled himſelf in Bithinia, by opportunely making uſe of the Arabs againſt the Turks. He alſo aſſumed the title of emperor, and cauſed a patriarch to be elected of his own communion. Other Greeks entered into an alliance with the Turks, and even called in their ancient enemies, the Bulgarians, to aſſiſt them againſt the emperor Baldwin; who being overcome near Adrianople, had his legs and arms cut off, and was left a prey to wild beaſts [16]. A.D. 1205. Henry, his brother and ſucceſſor, was poiſoned in 1216; and within half a century, the imperial city, which had gone to ruin under the Latins, returned once more to the Greeks.

WHILE

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WHILE theſe things were tranſacting in the Eaſt, Philip and Otho were deſolating the Weſt. At length
A D. 1206. Philip prevailed; and Otho, obliged to abandon Germany, took refuge in England. Philip, elated with ſucceſs, confirmed his election by a ſecond coronation, and propoſed an accommodation with the pope, as the means of finally eſtabliſhing his throne; but before it could be brought about, he fell a ſacrifice to private
A D. 1208. revenge, being aſſaſſinated by the count Palatine of Bavaria, whoſe daughter he had promiſed to marry, and afterwards rejected [17].

OTHO returned to Germany on the death of Philip;
A. D. 1209. married that prince's daughter; and was crowned at Rome by pope Innocent III. after yielding to the Holy See the long diſputed inheritance of the counteſs Matilda, and confirming the rights and privileges of the Italian cities.

BUT theſe conceſſions, as far at leaſt as regarded the pope, were only a ſacrifice to preſent policy: Otho therefore no ſooner found himſelf in a condition to act offenſively, than he reſumed his grant; and not only
A. D. 1210. recovered the poſſeſſions of the empire, but made hoſtile incurſions into Apulia, ravaging the dominions of young Frederic, king of Naples and Sicily, who was under the protection of the Holy See. Hence we may date the ruin of Otho: Innocent excommunicated him;
A.D. 1211. and Frederic, now ſeventeen years of age, was elected emperor by a diet of the German princes [18].

OTHO however, on his return to Germany, finding his party ſtill conſiderable, and not doubting but he ſhould be able to humble his rival, by means of his ſuperior force, entered into an alliance with his uncle, John king of England, againſt Philip Auguſtus king
A. D. 1213. of France. The unfortunate battle of Bouvines, where the confederates were defeated, as you have already ſeen,

ſeen, completed the fate of Otho. He attempted to retreat into Germany, but was prevented by young Frederic; who had marched into the empire at the head of a powerful army, and was every where received with open arms.

THUS abandoned by all the princes of Germany, and altogether without reſource, Otho retired to Brunſwick, where he lived four years as a private man, dedicating his time to the duties of religion. He was not depoſed, but forgot; and if it is true, that in the exceſs of his humility, he ordered himſelf to be thrown down and trode upon by his kitchen-boys [19], we may well ſay with Voltaire, that the kicks of a turn-ſpit can never expiate the faults of a prince.

FREDERIC II. being now univerſally acknowledged emperor, was crowned at Aix-la-Chapelle with great magnificence; when in order to preſerve the favour of the pope, he added to the other ſolemnities of his coronation, a vow to go in perſon to the Holy Land [20]. A D. 1215.

ABOUT this time pope Innocent died, and was ſucceeded by Honorius III. who expreſſed great eagerneſs in forwarding the cruſade, which he ordered to be preached up thro' all the provinces of Germany, Sweden, Denmark, Bohemia, and Hungary; and his endeavours were crowned with extraordinary ſucceſs. The emperor indeed excuſed himſelf from the performance of his vow, until he ſhould have regulated the affairs of Italy, and almoſt all the other European monarchs were detained at home by domeſtic diſturbances; but an infinite number of private noblemen and their vaſſals took the croſs, under the dukes of Auſtria and Bavaria, the archbiſhop of Mentz, and the biſhops of Munſter and Utrecht: and Andrew, king of Hungary, who brought with him a body of A D. 1216.

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fine troops, was declared generaliſſimo of the cruſade [21].

A.D. 1217.

WHILE theſe adventurers of Upper Germany marched towards Italy, in order to embark at Venice, Genoa, and Meſſina, a fleet of three hundred ſail was equipped in the ports of Lower Saxony, to tranſport the troops of Weſtphalia, Saxony, and the territory of Cologne: and theſe joining the ſquadron of the Frieſlanders, Flemings, and ſubjects of Brabant, commanded by William count of Holland, George count of Weerden, and Adolphus count of Berg, ſet ſail for the Straits of Gibraltar, on their voyage to Ptolemais; but being driven by a tempeſt into the road of Liſbon, they were prevailed upon to aſſiſt Alphonſo, king of Portugal, againſt the Moors, whom they defeated, and afterwards took the city of Alcazar from theſe Infidels [22].

ANDREW and his army, having joined the king of Cyprus, landed at Acra; where he was joyfully received by John de Brienne, a younger brother of the houſe of that name in Champagne, who had been nominated king of Jeruſalem. After refreſhing and reviewing their forces, the two kings marched into the great valley of Jeſrael againſt the Saracins, with the wood of the true croſs carried before them: but Coradin, ſon of Saphadin, ſoldan of Egypt and Babylon, and brother to the famous Saladin, finding himſelf overmatched by the Chriſtians, retired without giving battle; and the army of the croſs undertook the ſiege of Thabor, in which they miſcarried. They now ſeparated themſelves into four bodies, for the conveniency of ſubſiſting: the king of

A.D. 1218.

Cyprus died; and Andrew, king of Hungary, returned to his own dominions, in order to quiet ſome diſturbances which had ariſen during his abſence [23].

THE

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THE fleet from the coaſt of Spain arrived at Ptolemais, ſoon after the departure of the king of Hungary; and it was reſolved in a council of war to beſiege Damietta in Egypt, which was accordingly inveſted by ſea and land, and taken after a ſiege of eighteen months. During this ſiege Saphadin died; his ſon Meledin, who came to the relief of the beſieged, was defeated; the duke of Auſtria, with a large body of troops, returned to Germany; and a reinforcement arrived from the emperor, under the conduct of cardinal D'Albano, legate of the Holy See [24]. A. D. 1219.

THIS cardinal, who was a Spaniſh Benedictine, pretended that he, as repreſentative of the pope, the natural head of the cruſade, had an inconteſtible right to be general; and that as the king of Jeruſalem held his crown only by virtue of the pope's licence, he ought in all things to pay obedience to the legate of his holineſs. Much time was ſpent in this diſpute, and in writing to Rome for advice: at length the pope's anſwer came, by which he ordered the king of Jeruſalem to ſerve under the Benedictine; and his orders were punctually obeyed. John de Brienne reſigned the command; and this monkiſh general brought the army of the croſs between two branches of the Nile, juſt at the time when that river, which fertilizes and defends Egypt, began to run over its banks. The ſoldan, informed of their ſituation, overflowed the Chriſtian camp, by opening the ſluices; and while he burnt their ſhips on one ſide, the Nile increaſing on the other, threatened every hour to ſwallow up the whole army: ſo that the legate now ſaw himſelf and his troops in the ſame extremity, in which the Egyptians under Pharoah are deſcribed, when they beheld the ſea ready to ruſh in upon them. Damietta was reſtored; and the leaders of the cruſade were obliged to conclude a diſhonourable treaty, by which A. D. 1221.

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they bound themſelves not to ſerve againſt the ſoldan for eight years [25].

THE Chriſtians of the Eaſt had now no hopes left but in the emperor Frederic II. who was about this time crowned at Rome by pope Honorius III. whoſe friendſhip he had purchaſed, by promiſing to detach the kingdom of Naples and Sicily from the empire, and beſtow it upon his ſon Henry, to be held as a fief of the Holy See. He alſo promiſed to paſs into Aſia with an army, at any time the pope ſhould appoint. But this promiſe Frederic was very little inclined to perform, and therefore found a thouſand pretences for delaying his journey. He was indeed more worthily employed; in embelliſhing and aggrandizing Naples; in eſtabliſhing an univerſity in that city, where the Roman law was taught; and in expelling the vagrant Saracins, who ſtill infeſted Sicily [26].

IN the meantime the unfortunate leaders of the cruſade arrived in Europe; and the pope, incenſed at
A D. 1225. the loſs of Damietta, wrote a ſevere letter to the emperor, taxing him with having ſacrificed the intereſts of Chriſtianity, by delaying ſo long the performance of his vow, and threatening him with immediate excommunication, if he did not inſtantly depart with an army into Aſia. Frederic, exaſperated at theſe reproaches, renounced all correſpondence with the court of Rome; renewed his eccleſiaſtical juriſdiction in Sicily; filled up vacant ſees and benefices, and expelled ſome biſhops, who were creatures of the pope, on pretence of their being concerned in practices againſt the ſtate [27].

HONORIUS at firſt attempted to combat rigour with rigour, threatening the emperor with the thunder of the

the church, for preſuming to lift up his hand againſt the ſanctuary; but finding Frederic not to be intimidated, the pope became ſenſible of his own imprudence, in wantonly incurring the reſentment of ſo powerful a prince, and thought proper to ſoothe his temper by ſubmiſſive apologies and gentle exhortations. They were accordingly reconciled, and conferred together at Veroli; where the emperor, as a proof of his ſincere attachment to the church, publiſhed ſome very ſevere edicts againſt hereſy, which ſeem to have authoriſed the tribunal of the inquiſition [78]. A.D. 1226.

A SOLEMN aſſembly was afterwards held at Ferentino, where both the pope and the emperor were preſent, together with John de Brienne, titular king of Jeruſalem, who was come to Europe to demand ſuccours againſt the ſoldan of Egypt. John had an only daughter named Yolanda, whom he propoſed as a wife to the emperor, with the kingdom of Jeruſalem as her dower, on condition that Frederic ſhould, within two years, perform the vow he had made to lead an army into the Holy Land. Frederic married her on theſe terms, becauſe he choſe to pleaſe the pope: and ſince that time the kings of Sicily have taken the title of king of Jeruſalem.

BUT the emperor was in no hurry to go and conquer his wife's portion, having buſineſs of more importance on his hands at home. The chief cities of Lombardy had entered into a ſecret league, with a view to renounce his authority. He convoked a diet at Cremona, where all the German and Italian noblemen were ſummoned to attend. A variety of ſubjects were there diſcuſſed; but nothing of conſequence was ſettled. An accommodation, however, was ſoon after brought about, by the mediation of the pope; who, as umpire of the diſpute, decreed, that the emperor A.D. 1227.

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ſhould lay aſide his reſentment againſt the confederate towns, and that the towns ſhould furniſh and maintain four hundred knights for the relief of the Holy Land [29].

PEACE being thus concluded, Honorius reminded the emperor of his vow: Frederic promiſed compliance; but his holineſs died before he could ſee the execution of a project which he ſeemed to have ſo much at heart. He was ſucceeded in the papal chair by Gregory IX. brother of Innocent III. who purſuing the ſame line of policy, urged the departure of Frederic for the Holy Land; and finding the emperor ſtill backward, declared him incapable of the imperial dignity, as having incurred the ſentence of excommunication. Frederic, incenſed at ſuch inſolence, ravaged the patrimony of St. Peter; and was actually
A. D. 1228. excommunicated. The animoſity between the Guelphs and Ghibellines revived; the pope was obliged to quit Rome; and Italy became a ſcene of war and deſolation; or rather of an hundred civil wars, which by inflaming the minds, and exciting the reſentment of the Italian princes, accuſtomed them but too much to the horrid practices of poiſoning and aſſaſſination.

DURING theſe tranſactions, Frederic, in order to remove the cauſe of all theſe troubles, and gratify the prejudices of a ſuperſtitious age, by the advice of his friends, reſolved to perform his vow; and he accordingly embarked for the Holy Land, leaving the affairs of Italy to the management of Renaldo, duke of Spoleto. The pope prohibited his departure, before he ſhould be abſolved from the cenſures of the church: but Frederic went in contempt of the church, and ſucceeded better than any perſon who had gone before him. He did not indeed deſolate Aſia, and gratify the barbarous zeal of the times, by ſpilling the blood of Infidels; but

but he concluded a treaty with Meledin, ſoldan of Egypt, and maſter of Syria, by which the end of his expedition ſeemed fully anſwered. The ſoldan ceded to him Jeruſalem, and its territory, as far as Joppa; Bethlem, Nazareth, and all the country between Jeruſalem and Ptolemais; Tyre, Sidon, and the neighbouring territories: in return for which, the emperor granted the Saracins a truce of ten years, and prudently returned to Italy, where his preſence was much wanted [30]. A D. 1229. A.D. 1230.

FREDERIC's reign, after his return from the Eaſt, was one continued quarrel with the popes. The cities of Lombardy had revolted during his abſence, at the inſtigation of Gregory IX. and before they could be reduced, the ſame pontiff excited the emperor's ſon Henry, who had been elected king of the Romans, to rebel againſt his father. The rebellion was ſuppreſſed; A.D. 1235. the prince was confined; and the emperor obtained a complete victory over the aſſociated towns: but his A.D. 1237. troubles were not yet ended. The pope excommunicated him anew, and ſent a bull into Germany, in order to ſow diviſion between Frederic and the princes of the empire; in which are the following remarkable words: "A beaſt of blaſphemy, replete with names, "is riſen from the ſea, with the feet of a bear, the "face of a lion, and members of other different ani- "mals; which, like the proud, hath opened its mouth "in blaſphemy againſt the holy name; not even fear- "ing to throw the arrows of calumny againſt the ta- "bernacle of God, and the ſaints that dwell in hea- "ven. This beaſt, deſirous of breaking every thing "in pieces by its iron teeth and nails, and of tram- "pling all things under his feet, hath already pre- "pared private battering rams againſt the wall of the "catholic faith; and now raiſes open machines, in e- "recting ſoul-deſtroying ſchools of Iſhmaelites; riſing,

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" according to report, in oppoſition to Chriſt the Re-
" deemer of mankind, the tables of whoſe covenant
" he attempts to aboliſh with the pen of wicked here-
" ſy. Be not therefore ſurpriſed at the malice of
" this blaſphemous beaſt; if we, who are the ſervant
" of the Almighty, ſhould be expoſed to the arrows
" of his deſtruction.—This king of plagues was even
" heard to ſay, that the whole world has been deceived
" by three impoſtors; namely Moſes, Jeſus Chriſt,
" and Mahomet. But he makes Jeſus Chriſt far in-
" ferior to the other two: 'They, ſays he, ſupported
" their glory to the laſt, whereas Chriſt was igno-
" miniouſly crucified.' He alſo maintains, continues
" Gregory, that it is folly to believe the ONE only
" God, creator of the univerſe, could be born of a
" *woman*, and more eſpecially of a *virgin*[31]."

FREDERIC, on the other hand, in his apology to the princes of Germany, calls Gregory the *Great Dragon*, the *Antichriſt*, of whom it is written, " and ano-
" ther red horſe aroſe from the ſea, and he that ſat
" upon him took peace from the earth[32]."

THE emperor's apology was ſuſtained in Germany; and finding he had nothing to fear from that quarter, he reſolved to take ample vengeance on the pope and his aſſociates. For that purpoſe he marched to
A.D. 1239 Rome, where he thought his party was ſtrong enough to procure him admiſſion: but this favourite ſcheme was defeated by the activity of Gregory, who ordered a cruſade to be preached againſt the emperor, as an enemy of the Chriſtian faith; a ſtep which incenſed Frederic ſo much, that he ordered all his priſoners, who wore the croſs, to be expoſed to the moſt cruel tortures[33].

THE two factions of the Guelphs and Ghibellines continued

continued to rage with greater violence than ever, involving cities, diſtricts, and even private families, in troubles, diviſions, and civil butchery; no quarter being given on either ſide. Meanwhile Gregory IX. died, and was ſucceeded in the ſee of Rome by Celeſtin IV. and afterwards by Innocent IV. formerly cardinal Fieſque, who had always expreſſed the greateſt regard for the emperor and his intereſt. Frederic was accordingly congratulated upon this occaſion; but having more penetration than thoſe about him, he ſagely replied, "I ſee little reaſon to rejoice: the cardinal was "my friend; but the pope will be my enemy [34]." A. D. 1243.

INNOCENT ſoon proved the juſtice of this conjecture. He attempted to negociate a peace for Italy; but not being able to obtain from Frederic his exorbitant demands, and in fear for the ſafety of his own perſon, he fled into France; aſſembled a general council at Lyons, and depoſed the emperor. "I declare," A. D. 1245. ſaid he, "Frederic II. attainted and convicted of ſa-"crilege and hereſy, excommunicated, and dethroned; "and I order the electors to chuſe another emperor, "reſerving to myſelf the diſpoſal of the kingdom of "Sicily [35]."

FREDERIC was at Turin when he received the news of his depoſition, and behaved in a manner that ſeemed to border upon weakneſs. He called for the caſket in which the imperial ornaments were kept; and opening it, and taking the crown in his hand, "Innocent," cried he, "has not yet deprived me of "thee: thou art ſtill mine; and before I part with "thee, much blood ſhall be ſpilt [36]."

CONRAD, the emperor's ſecond ſon, had already been declared king of the Romans, on the death of his brother Henry, which ſoon followed his confinement: but

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but the empire being now declared vacant by the pope, the German biſhops (for none of the princes were preſent) at the inſtigation of his holineſs, proceeded to the election of a new emperor; and they choſe Henry, landgrave of Thuringia, who was ſtiled in deriſion, "The King of Prieſts."

A.D. 1246.

INNOCENT now renewed the cruſade againſt Frederic. It was proclaimed by the preaching friars, ſince called Dominicans, and the minor friars, known by the name of Cordeliers, or Franciſcans; a new militia of the court of Rome, which, about this time, began to be eſtabliſhed in Europe. The pope, however, did not confine himſelf to theſe meaſures only, but engaged in conſpiracies againſt the life of an emperor, who had dared to reſiſt the decree of a council, and oppoſe the whole body of monks and zealots. Frederic's life was ſeveral times in danger from plots, poiſonings, and aſſaſſinations; which induced him, it is ſaid, to make choice of Mahometan guards, whom he was certain would not be under the influence of the prevailing ſuperſtition.

A.D. 1247.

ABOUT this time, the landgrave of Thuringia dying, the ſame prelates who had taken the liberty of creating one emperor, made another; namely, William count of Holland, a young nobleman of twenty years of age, who bore the ſame contemptuous title with his predeceſſor [37].

FORTUNE, which had hitherto favoured Frederic, ſeemed now to deſert him. He was defeated before

A.D. 1248.

Parma, which he had long beſieged; and to complete his misfortune, he ſoon after learned, that his natural ſon Entius, whom he had made king of Sardinia, was worſted and taken priſoner by the Bologneſe.

IN this extremity, Frederic retired to his kingdom of

of Naples, in order to recruit his army; and there died of a fever, in the fifty-fifth year of his age [38]. He was a prince of great genius, erudition, and fortitude; and notwithſtanding all the troubles he had to encounter, he built towns, founded univerſities, and gave a kind of new life to learning in Italy. LETTER XXVIII. A.D. 1250.

AFTER the death of Frederic II. the affairs of Germany fell into the utmoſt confuſion, and Italy continued long in the ſame diſtracted ſtate, in which he had left it. The clergy took arms againſt the laity, the weak were oppreſſed by the ſtrong, and laws divine and human were diſregarded. But a particular hiſtory of that unhappy period would fill the mind with diſguſt and horror: I ſhall therefore only obſerve, that after the death of Frederic's ſon Conrad, who had aſſumed the imperial dignity as ſucceſſor to his father, and the death of his competitor, William of Holland, a variety of candidates appeared for the empire, and ſeveral were elected by different factions; among whom was Richard earl of Cornwall, brother to Henry III. king of England: but no emperor was properly acknowledged, till the year 1273, when Rodolph, count of Hapſburg, was unanimouſly raiſed to the vacant throne. A.D. 1256.

DURING the interregnum which preceded the election of Rodolph, Denmark, Holland, and Hungary, entirely freed themſelves from the homage they were wont to pay to the empire; and much about the ſame time ſeveral German cities erected a municipal form of government, which ſtill continues. Lubec, Cologne, Brunſwic, and Dantzic, united for their mutual defence againſt the encroachments of the great lords, by a famous aſſociation, called the Hanſeatic League; and theſe towns were afterwards joined by eighty others, belonging to different ſtates, which formed a kind

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kind of commercial republic. Italy alſo during this period aſſumed a new plan of government. That freedom for which the cities of Lombardy had ſo long ſtruggled was confirmed to them for a ſum of money: they were emancipated by the fruits of their induſtry. Sicily likewiſe changed its government and its prince, as ſhall be related in the hiſtory of France, which furniſhed a ſovereign to the Sicilians.—I next propoſe to carry forward the affairs of England, to the reign of Edward I. a period at which the hiſtory of our own iſland becomes peculiarly intereſting to every Briton.

P. S. I ſhall henceforth change my mode of addreſs for one more ſuitable to your advancing years, and the growing importance of my ſubject. I ſhall call you by your own name, that you may not have the levity of the Boy to plead in excuſe of the negligence, or the indolence of Philip, now approaching towards manhood.

LETTER XXIX.

ENGLAND, *from the Granting of the* GREAT CHARTER, *to the Reign of* EDWARD I.

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YOU have already ſeen, my dear Philip, in what manner king John was forced by his barons to grant the Great Charter of Engliſh liberty, and the regulations neceſſary for preſerving it, to which he ſeemed paſſively to ſubmit. He went ſtill farther: he diſmiſſed his forces; and promiſed that his government ſhould be as gentle, as his people could wiſh it. But he only diſſembled, till he ſhould find a favourable opportunity to revoke all his conceſſions; and in order to facilitate ſuch event, he ſecretly ſent abroad his emiſſaries to enliſt foreign ſoldiers, and to invite the rapacious Brabançons into his ſervice, by the proſpect of ſharing the ſpoils of England. He alſo diſpatched a meſſenger to Rome, to lay the Great Charter before the pope; who, conſidering himſelf as ſuperior lord of the kingdom, was incenſed at the temerity of the barons, and iſſued a bull annulling the charter, abſolving the king from his oath to obſerve it, and denouncing a general ſentence of excommunication againſt every one who ſhould perſevere in maintaining ſuch treaſonable pretenſions [1]. A. D. 1215.

JOHN now took off the maſk: he recalled all that he had done; and as his foreign mercenaries arrived along with the bull, he expected nothing but univerſal ſubmiſſion. But our anceſtors were not ſo eaſily to be frightened out of their rights. Langton, the primate, though he owed his elevation to an encroachment of the court of Rome, refuſed to obey the pope in

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in publiſhing the ſentence of excommunication againſt the barons: perſons of all ranks among the clergy as well as the laity, ſeemed determined to maintain, at the expence of their lives, the privileges granted in the Great Charter. John therefore had nothing to rely on for re-eſtabliſhing his tyranny, but the ſword of his Brabançons: and that unfortunately proved too ſtrong; if not for the liberties of England, at leaſt for its proſperity.

THE barons, after obtaining the Great Charter, had ſunk into a kind of fatal ſecurity; having not only diſmiſſed their vaſſals, but taken no rational meaſures for reaſſembling them on an emergency: ſo that the king found himſelf maſter of the field, without any adequate force to oppoſe him. Caſtles were defended, and ſkirmiſhes riſked, but no regular oppoſition was made to the progreſs of the royal arms; while the ravenous mercenaries, incited by a cruel and incenſed prince, were let looſe againſt the houſes and eſtates of the barons, and ſpread devaſtation over the whole face of the kingdom. Nothing was to be ſeen, from Dover to Berwick, but the flames of villages, caſtles reduced to aſhes, and the conſternation and miſery of the helpleſs inhabitants [z].

IN this deſperate extremity, the barons dreading the total loſs of their liberties, their lives, and their poſſeſſions, had recourſe to a remedy no leſs deſperate: they offered to acknowledge, as their ſovereign, prince Lewis, eldeſt ſon of Philip Auguſtus king of France, provided he would protect them from the fury of their enraged monarch. The temptation was too great to
A.D. 1216. be reſiſted by a prince of Philip's ambition. He ſent over inſtantly a ſmall army to the relief of the barons, and afterwards a more numerous body of forces, with his ſon Lewis at their head; tho' the pope's legate threatened

threatened him with interdicts and excommunications, if he invaded the dominions of a prince under the immediate protection of the Holy See: menaces which Philip little minded, being assured of the fidelity of his subjects. LETTER XXIX. A.D. 1216.

The French monarch, however, took care to preserve appearances in his violence; and only appearances. He pretended that his son Lewis had accepted of the offer from the English barons without his advice, and contrary to his inclinations; and that the armies sent into England were levied in that prince's name. But these artifices were not employed by Philip to deceive: he knew that the pope had too much penetration to be so easily imposed upon, and that they were too gross even to gull the people; but he knew, at the same time, that the manner of conducting any thing is of as much consequence as the thing itself, and that a violation of decency, in the eye of the world, is more criminal than a breach of justice.

Lewis no sooner landed in England, than John was deserted by his foreign troops, who being principally levied in the French provinces, refused to serve against the heir of their monarchy: so that the barons had the melancholy prospect of succeeding in their purpose, and of escaping the tyranny of their own king, by imposing on themselves and the nation a foreign yoke. But the imprudent partiality of Lewis to his countrymen, increased that jealousy, which it was so natural for the English to entertain in their present situation, and did great hurt to his cause. Many of the dissatisfied barons returned to the king's party; and John was preparing to make a last effort for his crown, when death put an end to his troubles and his crimes, in the forty-ninth year of his age, and the eighteenth of his reign. His character is nothing but a complication of vices, equally mean

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A.D. 1216.

mean and odious; ruinous to himſelf, and deſtructive to his people. But a ſally of wit upon the uſual corpulency of the prieſts, more than all his enormities, made him paſs with the clergy of that age for an impious prince. "How plump and well fed is this animal!"—exclaimed he, one day, when he had caught a very fat ſtag;—"and yet I dare ſwear he never heard mats."

JOHN was ſucceeded by his ſon Henry III. but nine years old at his father's death; and for once a minority proved of ſingular ſervice to England. The earl of Pembroke, who by his office of mareſchal, was at the head of the military power, and, conſequently, in perilous times, at the head of the ſtate, determined to ſupport the authority of the infant prince: he was choſen protector; and fortunately for the young monarch, and for the nation, the regency could not have been intruſted into more able or more faithful hands. In order to reconcile all men to the government of his pupil, he made him renew and confirm the Great Charter: and he wrote letters in Henry's name to all the malcontent barons, repreſenting, that whatever animoſity they might have entertained againſt the late king, they ought to preſerve none againſt his ſon, who had now ſucceeded to his throne, but neither to his reſentments nor to his principles, and was reſolved to avoid the paths which had led to ſuch dangerous extremities; exhorting them, at the ſame time, by a ſpeedy return to their duty, to reſtore the independency of the kingdom, and ſecure that liberty for which they had ſo zealouſly contended, and which was now confirmed to them by a ſecond charter[4].

THESE arguments, enforced by the character of Pembroke, had a mighty influence on the barons: moſt of them ſecretly negociated with him, and many of them

them openly returned to their duty. Lewis therefore, who had made a journey to France, and brought over freſh ſuccours with him from that kingdom, found his party much weakened on his return, and that the death of John, contrary to all expectation, had blaſted his favourite deſigns. He laid ſiege however to Dover, which was gallantly defended by Hubert de Burgh. In the mean time the French army, commanded by the count of Perche, was totally defeated by the earl of Pembroke, before the caſtle of Lincoln, and four hundred knights, beſides many perſons of ſuperior rank, were made priſoners by the Engliſh. Lewis, when informed of this fatal event, retired to London, which was the centre and life of his party; and he there received intelligence of a new diſaſter, which extinguiſhed all his hopes. A French fleet, with a ſtrong reinforcement on board, had been repulſed on the coaſt of Kent, and obliged to take ſhelter in their own harbours [5].

THE Engliſh barons, after this ſecond advantage gained over the French, by the royal party, haſtened from all quarters to make peace with the protector, and prevent, by an early ſubmiſſion, thoſe attainders to which they were expoſed on account of their rebellion; while Lewis, whoſe cauſe was now totally deſperate, began to be anxious for the ſafety of his perſon, and was glad, on any tolerable conditions, to make his eſcape from a country where every thing was become hoſtile to him. He accordingly concluded a treaty with Pembroke, by which he promiſed to evacuate the kingdom; and he only ſtipulated, in return, an indemnity to his adherents, a reſtitution of their honours and fortunes, and the free and equal enjoyment of thoſe liberties, which had been granted to the reſt of the nation [6]. Thus was happily terminated a civil war, which ſeemed to ſpring from the moſt incurable hatred and jealouſy,

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and had threatened to make England a province of France.

THE prudence and equity of the protector, after the expulſion of the French, contributed to cure entirely thoſe wounds, which had been made by inteſtine diſcord. He received the rebellious barons into favour; obſerved ſtrictly the terms of peace, which he had granted them; reſtored them to their poſſeſſions; and endeavoured, by an equal behaviour, to bury all paſt animoſities in perpetual oblivion. But, unfortunately for the nation, this great and good man did not long ſurvive the pacification: and Henry, when he came of age, proving a weak and contemptible prince, England was again involved in civil broils, which it would be equally uſeleſs and impertinent to relate; as they were neither followed, during many years, by any event of importance to ſociety, nor attended with any circumſtances, which can throw light upon the human character. Their cauſes and conſequences were alike inſignificant.

IT is neceſſary, however, to obſerve, that the king having married Eleanor, daughter of the count of Provence, was ſurrounded by a great number of ſtrangers from that and other countries, whom he carreſſed with the fondeſt affection, and enriched by an imprudent generoſity: and the inſolence of theſe foreigners is ſaid to have ariſen to ſuch a height, that when the laws were at any time appealed to on account of their outrages or oppreſſions, they ſcrupled not to ſay, "What "do the laws of England ſignify to us? We mind "them not." This open contempt of the Engliſh, rouſed the reſentment of the barons, and tended much to aggravate the general diſcontent ariſing from the preference ſhewn to ſtrangers; as it made every act of violence, committed by a foreigner, appear not only an injury,

injury, but an affront: yet no remonſtrance or complaint could ever prevail on the king to abandon them, or even to moderate his attachment towards them.

But Henry's profuſe bounty to his foreign relations, and to their friends and favourites, would have appeared more tolerable to the Engliſh, had any thing been done for the honour of the nation, or had the king's enterprizes in foreign countries been attended with any ſucceſs or glory to himſelf or the public. Neither of theſe however was the caſe. He declared war againſt France, and made an expedition into Guienne, upon the invitation of his father-in-law, who promiſed to join him with all his forces: but he was worſted at Taillebourg; was deſerted by his allies; A.D. 1242. loſt what remained to him of Poitou; and was obliged to return with diſgrace into England [7].

Want of œconomy, and an ill-judged liberality, were Henry's great defects: which obliged him continually to harraſs his barons for money, under different pretences, and kept him always needy. Their diſcontents were thereby increaſed, and he was ſtill a beggar. Even before his foreign expedition, his debts had become ſo troubleſome, that he ſold all his plate and jewels, in order to diſcharge them. When this expedient was firſt propoſed to him, he aſked where he ſhould find purchaſers. "In the city of London," it was replied. "On my word," ſaid he, "if the "treaſury of Auguſtus were brought to ſale, the ci-"tizens are able to be the purchaſers. Theſe clowns, "who aſſume to themſelves the name of barons, a-"bound in every thing, while we are reduced to ne-"ceſſities:" And he was thenceforth obſerved to be more greedy in his exactions upon the citizens [8].

Many however as the grievances were, which the

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Engliſh, during this reign, had reaſon to complain of in the civil government, they ſeem to have been ſtill leſs burthenſome than thoſe which proceeded from ſpiritual uſurpations and abuſes; and which Henry, who relied on the pope for the ſupport of his tottering authority, never failed to countenance. All the chief benefices of the kingdom were conferred on Italians, great numbers of whom were ſent over to be provided for; and non-reſidence and pluralities were carried to ſuch an enormous height, that Manſel, the king's chaplain, is computed to have held at one time, ſeven hundred eccleſiaſtical livings. The pope exacted the revenues of all vacant benefices; the twentieth of all eccleſiaſtical revenues, without exception; the third of ſuch as exceeded one hundred marks a year; the half of ſuch as were poſſeſſed by non-reſidents: he claimed alſo the goods of all inteſtate clergymen; he pretended a right to inherit all money got by uſury; and he levied voluntary contributions on the people [9].

But the moſt oppreſſive expedient employed by the court of Rome, in order to drain money from England, was that of embarking Henry in a project for the conqueſt of Sicily. On the death of the emperor Frederic II. the ſucceſſion of that iſland devolved to his ſon Conrad, and afterwards to his grandſon Conradine, yet an infant; and as Mainfroy, the emperor's natural ſon, under pretence of governing the kingdom during the minority of the young prince, had formed a ſcheme for uſurping the ſovereignty, Innocent IV. had a good apology for exerting that ſuperiority, which the popes claimed over Sicily, and at the ſame time of gratifying his hatred againſt the houſe of Suabia. He accordingly attempted to make himſelf maſter of the kingdom; but being diſappointed in all his enterpriſes by the activity and artifices of Mainfroy, and finding that his own force was not ſufficient for ſuch

ſuch a conqueſt, he made a tender of the crown to Richard earl of Cornwall, brother to Henry III. and ſuppoſed to be the richeſt ſubject in Europe. Richard had the prudence to reject the preſent; and the ſame offer being afterwards made to Henry, in favour of his ſecond ſon Edmond, that weak monarch was led, by the levity and thoughtleſſneſs of his diſpoſition, to embrace the inſidious propoſal. Immenſe ſums were drained from England, under pretence of carrying this project into execution, for the pope took that upon himſelf; but the money was ſtill found inſufficient: the conqueſt of Sicily was as remote as ever. Henry, therefore, ſenſible at length of the cheat, was obliged to reſign into the pope's hands that crown which he had more than purchaſed, but which it was never intended either he or his family ſhould inherit [10]. A. D. 1255.

THE earl of Cornwall had now reaſon to value himſelf on his foreſight, in refuſing the fradulent bargain with Rome, and in preferring the ſolid honours of an opulent and powerful prince of the blood in England, to the empty and precarious glory of a foreign dignity: but he had not always firmneſs ſufficient to adhere to this reſolution. His immenſe wealth made the German princes caſt their eye on him as a candidate for the empire, after the death of William of Holland; and his vanity and ambition for once prevailed over his prudence and his avarice. He went over to Germany, was tempted to expend vaſt ſums on his election, and ſucceeded ſo far as to be choſen by a faction, and crowned at Aix-la-Chapelle; but having no perſonal or family connections in that country, he never could attain any ſolid power. He therefore found it neceſſary to return into England, after having laviſhed away the frugality of a whole life, in order to procure a ſplendid title [11]. A. D. 1257.

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ENGLAND, in the meanwhile, was involved in new troubles. The weakneſs of Henry's government, and the abſence of his brother, gave reins to the factious and turbulent ſpirit of the barons: they demanded an extenſion of their privileges; and, if we may credit the hiſtorians of thoſe times, had formed a plan of ſo many limitations on the royal authority, as would have reduced the king to a mere cypher. Henry would agree to nothing but a renewal of the Great Charter; which, at the deſire of the barons, was ratified in the following manner. All the prelates and abbots were aſſembled; they held burning tapers in their hands; the Great Charter was read before them: they denounced the ſentence of excommunication againſt every one who ſhould violate that fundamental law; they threw their tapers on the ground, and exclaimed, "May the ſoul of every one, who incurs this ſen-"tence, ſo ſtink and corrupt in hell!" The king alſo bore a part in this ceremony, and ſubjoined, "So "help me God! I will keep all theſe articles inviolate, "as I am a man, as I am a Chriſtian, as I am a "knight, and as I am a king crowned and anointed [12]."

THIS tremendous ceremony, however, was no ſooner over, than the king forgot his engagements, and the barons renewed their pretenſions. At the head of the malcontents was Simon de Mountfort, earl of Leiceſter, a man of great talents and boundleſs ambition, who had married Eleanor, the king's ſiſter, and hoped to wreſt the ſceptre from the feeble and irreſolute hand that held it. He repreſented to his aſſociates the neceſſity of reforming the ſtate, and of putting the execution of the laws into other hands than thoſe which had hitherto been found, from repeated experience, ſo unfit for that important charge. After ſo many ſubmiſſions and fruitleſs promiſes, the king's word, he ſaid, could no longer be relied on, and his inability

inability to violate national privileges could thenceforth only inſure their preſervation.

THESE obſervations, which were founded in truth, and entirely conformable to the ſentiments of thoſe to whom they were addreſſed, had the deſired effect: the barons reſolved to take the adminiſtration into their own hands; and Henry having ſummoned a parliament at Oxford, found himſelf a priſoner in his national council, and was obliged to ſubmit to the terms preſcribed to him, called the Proviſions of Oxford. According to theſe proviſions, twelve barons were ſelected from among the king's miniſters; twelve more were choſen by parliament; and to theſe twenty-four barons unlimited authority was granted to reform the ſtate. Leiceſter was at the head of this legiſlative body, to which the ſupreme power was in reality transferred; and their firſt ſtep ſeemed well calculated for the end which they profeſſed to have in view. They ordered that four knights ſhould be choſen by each county; that they ſhould make inquiry into the grievances which their neighbourhood had reaſon to complain of; and ſhould attend the enſuing parliament, in order to give information to that aſſembly of the ſtate of their particular counties [13]. Thus, my dear Philip, was a new order of men introduced into the national aſſembly; and our conſtitution approached daily nearer to its preſent form. A.D. 1258.

THE earl of Leiceſter and his aſſociates, however, having advanced ſo far as to ſatisfy the nation, inſtead of continuing in the ſame popular courſe, immediately provided for the extenſion and continuance of their own exorbitant authority, at the expence both of the king and the people. They enjoyed the ſupreme power near three years; and had viſibly employed it, not for the reformation of the

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ſtate, their original pretence for aſſuming it, but for the aggrandiſement of themſelves and families. The breach of truſt was apparent to all the world: every order of men felt it, and murmured againſt it; and the pope, in order to gain the favour of the nation, abſolved the king, and all his ſubjects, from the oath which they had taken to obſerve the Proviſions of Oxford [14].

A.D. 1261.

As ſoon as Henry received the pope's abſolution from his oath, accompanied with threats of excommunication againſt all his opponents, he reſumed the government; offering, however, to maintain all the regulations made by the reforming barons, except thoſe which entirely annihilated the royal authority. But theſe haughty chieftains could not peaceably reſign that uncontrouled power which they had ſo long enjoyed. Many of them engaged in Leiceſter's views, which were nothing leſs than the throne itſelf. The civil war was renewed in all its horrors: and after ſeveral fruitleſs negociations, the collected force of the two parties met near Lewes in Suſſex; where the royal army was unhappily defeated, and the king and prince Edward made priſoners.

A.D. 1263.

A.D. 1264.

No ſooner had Leiceſter obtained this victory, and got the royal family in his power, than he acted as ſole maſter, and even tyrant of the kingdom. He ſeized the eſtates of no leſs than eighteen barons, as his ſhare of the ſpoil gained in the battle of Lewes: he engroſſed to himſelf the ranſom of all the priſoners; and told his barons, with wanton inſolence, that it was ſufficient for them that he had ſaved them, by that victory, from the forfeitures and attainders which hung over them. All the officers of the crown were named by him; the whole authority, as well as arms of the ſtate, was lodged in his hands [15].

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BUT it was impoſſible that things could remain long in this equivocal ſituation: it became neceſſary for Leiceſter either to deſcend to the rank of a ſubject, or mount up to that of a ſovereign; and he could do neither without peril. This year he ſummoned a new parliament; which, for his own purpoſes, he fixed on a more democratical baſis, than any called from the foundation of the monarchy. He ordered returns to be made, not only of two knights from every ſhire, but alſo of deputies from the boroughs: and thus introduced into the national council a ſecond order of men, hitherto regarded as too mean to enjoy a place in thoſe auguſt aſſemblies, or have any ſhare in the government of the ſtate [15]. A.D. 1265.

BUT tho' we are indebted, my dear Philip, to Leiceſter's uſurpation for the firſt rude outline of the Houſe of Commons, his policy only forwarded by ſome years an inſtitution, for which the general ſtate of things had already prepared the nation; and that houſe, though derived from ſo invidious an origin, when ſummoned by legal princes, ſoon proved one of the moſt uſeful members of the conſtitution, and gradually reſcued the kingdom, as you will have occaſion to ſee, both from ariſtocratical and regal tyranny. It is but juſt however to obſerve, that as this neceſſary, and now powerful branch of our conſtitution, owed its riſe to uſurpation, it is the only one of the three that has lately given an uſurper to the ſtate: the perſon I mean is Oliver Cromwell; and I will be ſo bold as to affirm, that if ever England is again ſubjected to the abſolute will of any one man, unleſs from abroad, that man muſt be a member of the Houſe of Commons. The people are alike jealous of the power of the king and of the nobles; but they are themſelves greedy of dominion, and can only poſſeſs it through their repreſentatives: a popular member of the lower houſe, therefore, needs only

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A D. 1265.

only ambition, enterpriſe, and a favourable conjuncture to overturn the throne; to ſtrip the nobles of their dignities; and, while he blows the trumpet of liberty, to tell his equals they are ſlaves.

LEICESTER's motive for giving this form to the parliament, was a deſire of cruſhing his rivals among the powerful barons; and truſting to the popularity acquired by ſuch a meaſure, he made the earl of Derby be accuſed in the king's name, and ordered him to be ſeized and committed to priſon without being brought to any legal trial. Several other barons were threatned with the ſame fate, and deſerted the confedracy. The royaliſts flew to arms; prince Edward made his eſcape; and the joy of this young hero's appearance, together with the oppreſſions under which the nation laboured, ſoon procured him a force which Leiceſter was unable to reſiſt. A battle was fought near Eveſham; where Leiceſter was ſlain, and his army totally routed. When that nobleman, who poſſeſſed great military talents, obſerved the vaſt ſuperiority, and excellent diſpoſition of the royaliſts, he exclaimed, "The Lord have mercy on our ſouls! for I ſee our "bodies are the prince's: he has learned from me the "art of war [17]."

THE victory of Eveſham proved deciſive in favour of the royal party; and though the ſuppreſſion of ſo extenſive a rebellion commonly produces a revolution in government, and ſtrengthens as well as enlarges the prerogatives of the crown, no ſacrifices of national liberty were made upon this occaſion. The clemency of this victory is alſo remarkable: no blood was ſhed on the ſcaffold. The mild diſpoſition of the king, and the prudence of the prince, tempered the inſolence of power, and gradually reſtored order to the ſeveral members of the ſtate.

THE

LETTER XXIX.

THE affairs of England were no ſooner ſettled, than prince Edward, ſeduced by his thirſt of glory, undertook an expedition to the Holy Land; where he ſignalized himſelf by many acts of valour, and ſtruck ſuch terror into the Saracins, that they employed an aſſaſſin to murder him, who wounded Edward in the arm, but paid for his temerity with his life [18]. Meanwhile the prince's abſence from England was attended with many pernicious conſequences; which the old king, unequal to the burden of government, was little able to prevent. He therefore implored his gallant ſon to return, and aſſiſt him in ſwaying that ſceptre, which was ready to drop from his feeble hands; but before the prince's arrival, he expired, in the ſixty-fourth year of his age, and the fifty-ſixth of his reign, the longeſt in the Engliſh annals.—The moſt obvious feature in Henry's character is his weakneſs. From this ſource, rather than from inſincerity or treachery, aroſe his negligence in obſerving his promiſes; and hence, for the ſake of preſent conveniency, he was eaſily induced to ſacrifice the laſting advantages ariſing from the truſt and confidence of his people. A better head, with the ſame diſpoſitions, would have prevented him from falling into his errors; but (every good has it allay) with a worſe heart, it would have enabled him to maintain them.

A.D. 1270.

A.D 1272.

PRINCE Edward had reached Sicily in his return from the Holy Land, when he received intelligence of the death of his father, and immediately proceeded homeward. A variety of objects claim your attention, before I carry further the tranſactions of our own iſland, which now become truly important. The reign of Edward I. forms an era in the hiſtory of Britain.

LETTER

LETTER XXX.

FRANCE, *from the Reign of* PHILIP AUGUSTUS, *to the End of the Reign of* LEWIS IX. *commonly called* ST. LEWIS, *with ſome Account of the laſt* CRUSADE.

LETTER XXX.

THE reign of Philip Auguſtus has already occupied your attention. You have had occaſion to obſerve the great abilities of that prince, both as a warrior and a politician: you have ſeen him reunite a great many fine provinces to the kingdom of France, at the expence of the Engliſh monarchy: you have ſeen him attempt the conqueſt of England itſelf; and you have alſo ſeen in what manner prince Lewis was obliged to abandon that project, notwithſtanding the power and the intrigues of Philip. Soon
A D. 1223. after the return of Lewis, his father died, and left the kingdom of France twice as large as he received it; ſo that future acquiſitions became eaſy to his ſucceſſors.

LEWIS VIII. however, did not enlarge the monarchy. His ſhort reign was chiefly ſpent in a cruſade againſt the Albigenſes, in the proſecution of which
A. D. 1226. he died. He was ſucceeded by his ſon Lewis IX. commonly called St. Lewis. During the minority of this prince, tho' in his twelfth year at his acceſſion, a variety of diſorders aroſe in France, occaſioned by the ambition of the powerful vaſſals of the crown; all which were happily compoſed by the prudence and firmneſs of Blanche of Caſtile, the regent, and queen-mother.

LEWIS no ſooner came of age, than he was univerſally acknowledged to be the greateſt prince in Europe

rope; and his character is, perhaps, the moſt ſingular in the annals of hiſtory. To the mean and abject ſuperſtition of a monk, he united all the courage and magnanimity of a hero: nay, what may be deemed ſtill more wonderful, the juſtice and integrity of the ſincere patriot; and, where religion was not concerned, the mildneſs and humanity of the true philoſopher. So far from taking advantage of the diviſions among the Engliſh, during the reign of Henry III. or attempting to expel thoſe dangerous rivals from the provinces which they ſtill poſſeſſed in France, he entertained many ſcruples with regard to the ſentence of attainder pronounced againſt the king's father; and had not his biſhops, it is ſaid, perſuaded him, that John was juſtly puniſhed for his barbarity and felony, he would have reſtored all the conqueſts made by Philip Auguſtus [1]. LETTER XXX.

When Gregory IX. after excommunicating Frederic II. offered the empire to the count of Artois, brother to St. Lewis, this pious prince acted in the ſame diſintereſted manner. He did not indeed refuſe that gift, as what the pope had no right to beſtow, but he replied, that Frederic had always appeared to him a good catholic; that ambaſſadors ſhould firſt be ſent to him, to know his ſentiments touching the faith; which, if orthodox, there could be no reaſon for attacking him; but if heretical, war ought to be carried on againſt him with violence; and, in ſuch caſe, even againſt the pope himſelf [2]. A.D 1240.

This was Lewis's foible. Perſuaded that heretics, or thoſe who did not hold the eſtabliſhed belief, deſerved the puniſhment of death, he favoured the tribunal of the inquiſition; and the ſame turn of thinking led him to aſcribe merit to a war againſt Infidels. His humane heart became a prey to the barbarous devotion

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votion of the times. Being ſeized with a dangerous illneſs, which deprived him of his ſenſes, and almoſt
A. D. 1244. of his life, his heated imagination took fire, and he thought he heard a voice commanding him to ſhed the blood of Infidels. He accordingly made a vow, as ſoon as he recovered, to engage in a new cruſade, and immediately took the croſs; nor could any remonſtrances engage him to forego his purpoſe: he conſidered his vow as a ſacred obligation, which it was not permitted man to diſſolve[3].

But Lewis, though not to be diſſuaded from his Eaſtern expedition, was in no hurry to depart. He ſpent four years in making preparations, and in ſettling the government of his kingdom, which he left to
A. D. 1248. the care of his mother; and, at length, ſet ſail for Cyprus, accompanied by his queen, his three brothers, and almoſt all the knights of France. At Cyprus it was reſolved to make a deſcent upon Egypt; as experience had ſhewn, that Jeruſalem and the Holy Land could never be preſerved, while that country remained in the hands of the Infidels[4]. But before I ſpeak of the tranſactions in Egypt, I muſt ſay a few words of the ſtate of the Eaſt in thoſe times.

Asia, my dear Philip, from the earlieſt ages, has been the ſeat of enormous monarchy, and the theatre of the moſt aſtoniſhing revolutions. You have ſeen with what rapidity it was over-run by the Arabs, and afterwards by the Turks; you have ſeen thoſe conquering people, for a time, borne down by the champions of the croſs, and Saladin himſelf ſink beneath the arm of our illuſtrious Richard: but neither the zeal of the Chriſtians, nor the enthuſiaſm of the Mahometans, who were ſuppoſed to have carried conqueſt to its utmoſt point, was attended with a ſucceſs equal to the hardy valour of the Moguls, or Weſtern Tartars,

Tartars, under Genghiz-Kan; who, in a few years, extended his dominions, from a ſmall territory, to more than eighteen hundred leagues, from eaſt to weſt, and above a thouſand from north to ſouth. He conquered Perſia, as far as the Euphrates; Indoſtan, and great part of China; all Tartary, and the frontier provinces of Ruſſia.

THIS wonderful man died in 1226, when he was preparing to complete the conqueſt of China. His empire was divided among his four ſons, whoſe names it is unneceſſary to mention. They continued united till the death of Octay, his ſucceſſor as Great Kan, who totally ſubjected Egypt. One of his grandſons paſſed the Euphrates, diſpoſſeſſed the Turks of that part of Aſia Minor, now called Natolia, and terminated the dominion of the Califs of Bagdat: another of them carried terror into Poland, Hungary, Dalmatia, and to the very gates of Conſtantinople [5].

THESE Weſtern Tartars, accuſtomed from their birth to brave hunger, fatigue, and death, were irreſiſtible, while they preſerved their ſavage auſterity of manners. The offspring of the ſame deſarts which had produced the Scythians, the Huns, and Turks, they were more fierce than either; and as the Goths had formerly ſeized upon Thrace, when expelled by the Huns from their native habitations, the Koraſmins, in like manner, flying before the Moguls, over-ran Syria and Paleſtine, and made themſelves maſters of Jeruſalem in 1244, putting the inhabitants to the ſword. The Chriſtians, however, ſtill poſſeſſed Tyre, Sidon, Tripoli, and Ptolemais; and though always divided among themſelves, and cutting one another's throats, they united in imploring the aſſiſtance of Europe againſt this new danger [6].

SUCH

LETTER XXX.

Such was the ſituation of the Eaſt, and of the oriental Chriſtians, when St. Lewis ſet out for their relief. But inſtead of ſailing immediately for Paleſtine, he made a deſcent, as I have obſerved, upon Egypt. His purpoſe in ſo doing has been already explained: but as the ſoldan of Egypt was not now in poſſeſſion of Jeruſalem, this invaſion muſt have proceeded from his ignorance of the affairs of the Eaſt, or from an ambition of conquering ſo fine a country, more than from any hope of advancing the intereſts of Chriſtianity.

Lewis and his prodigious army, ſaid to have been tranſported in eighteen hundred ſhips, landed near
A.D. 1249. the city of Damietta; which, contrary to all expectation, was abandoned to them. He afterwards received freſh ſuccours from France; and found himſelf in the plains of Egypt at the head of ſixty thouſand men, the flower of his kingdom, by whom he was both obeyed and loved. What might not have been expected from ſuch a force, under ſuch a general! Not only Egypt, but Syria, ſhould have yielded to their arms. Yet this cruſade, like all the reſt, terminated in ſorrow and diſappointment. One half of theſe fine troops fell a prey to ſickneſs and debauchery: the other was defeated by the ſoldan, at Maſſoura; where Lewis beheld his brother Robert of Artois killed by his ſide, and himſelf taken priſoner, together with his other two brothers, the count of Anjou and the count of Poitiers, and all his nobility [7].

The French, however, were ſtill in the poſſeſſion of Damietta. There St. Lewis's conſort was lodged; and thinking her ſafety doubtful, as the place was beſieged, ſhe addreſſed herſelf to the Sieur Joinville, who was a knight-errant, and made him promiſe, on the faith of chivalry, to cut off her head, if ever her virtue

virtue ſhould be in danger. But Joinville happily had no occaſion to put his promiſe in execution. Damietta held out, and a treaty was concluded with the ſoldan; by which that city was reſtored, in conſideration of the king's liberty, and a thouſand pieces of gold paid for the ranſom of the other priſoners [8].

LEWIS was now ſolicited to return to Europe with the remnant of his fleet and army, but devotion led him to Paleſtine; where he continued for four years, without effecting any thing of conſequence. In the meantime the affairs of France were in much confuſion. The queen-mother, during the king's captivity, had unadviſedly given permiſſion to a fanatical monk, to preach a new cruſade for her ſon's releaſe; and this man availing himſelf of the paſtoral circumſtance in the nativity, aſſembled near one hundred thouſand people of low condition, whom he called ſhepherds. It ſoon, however, appeared, that they might with more propriety have been ſtiled wolves: they robbed and pillaged wherever they came; and it was found neceſſary to diſperſe them by force of arms, which was not effected without much trouble [9].

THE death of the queen-mother determined Lewis, at laſt, to reviſit France: but he only returned, in order to prepare for a new cruſade; ſo ſtrongly had that madneſs taken hold of his mind!—Meanwhile his zeal for juſtice, his care to reform abuſes, his wiſe laws, his virtuous example, ſoon repaired the evils occaſioned by his abſence. He eſtabliſhed, on a ſolid foundation, the right of appeal to the royal judges; one of the beſt expedients for reducing the exorbitant power of the nobles. He abſolutely prohibited private wars, which the feudal anarchy had tolerated: he ſubſtituted juridical proofs, inſtead of thoſe by duel; and, no leſs enlightened than pious, he reſcued France from the exactions of the court of Rome [10]. A. D. 1255.

LETTER XXX.

In his tranſactions with his neighbours, Lewis was no leſs exemplary: equity and diſintereſtedneſs were the baſis of his policy. If he ſometimes carried theſe virtues too far, as a prince, they always did him honour as a man: they even procured him reſpect as a ſovereign; and ſecured to his ſubjects the greateſt bleſſing that a
A.D. 1262. people can enjoy, peace and proſperity. He ceded to James I. of Arragon, his inconteſtible right to Rouſſillon and Catalonia, which had been ſubject to France from the time of Charlemagne, in exchange for certain claims of that monarch to ſome fiefs in Provence and Languedoc; and he reſtored to the Engliſh crown Querci,
A.D. 1263 Perigord, and the Limouſin, for no higher conſideration than that the king of England ſhould renounce all right to Normandy, Maine, and the other forfeited provinces, which were already in the poſſeſſion of France. But Lewis, as has been obſerved, was doubtful of the right by which he held thoſe provinces; and though an ambitious prince, inſtead of making this compromiſe, might have taken advantage of the troubles of England under Henry III. to ſeize Guienne, and all that remained to that monarchy in France; ſuch a prince might alſo, by theſe means, have drawn on himſelf the jealouſy of his neighbours, and in the end have fallen a ſacrifice to his rapacity: whereas Lewis, by his moderation, acquired the confidence of
A.D. 1264. all Europe, and was choſen arbiter between the king of England and his barons, at a time when it was his intereſt to have ruined both; an honour, perhaps, never conferred upon any other rival monarch, and with which, perhaps, no other could ever ſafely have been truſted. He determined in favour of the king, without prejudice to the people; he annulled the Proviſions of Oxford, as derogatory to the rights of the crown, but enforced the obſervation of the Great Charter: and though this ſentence was rejected by Leiceſter and his

his party, it will remain to all ages an eternal monument of the equity of Lewis".

THE moſt blamable circumſtance in this great monarch's conduct, and perhaps the only one that deſerves to be conſidered in that light, is his approbation of the treaty between his brother and the pope relative to Sicily. That kingdom had formerly been offered, as you have ſeen, to the earl of Cornwall, and to prince Edmond, ſon of Henry III. After being given up by England, it was offered to the count of Anjou: he accepted it; and Lewis permitted a cruſade to be preached in France againſt Mainfroy, who had now actually uſurped the Sicilian throne, in prejudice to his nephew Conradine. The count of Anjou marched into Italy at the head of a numerous army: Mainfroy was defeated and ſlain in the plains of Benevento; and Conradine appeared in vindication of his native rights. He alſo was routed, and taken priſoner, together with his uncle, the duke of Auſtria; and both were executed at Naples, upon a ſcaffold, at the requeſt of the pope, and by the ſentence of a pretended court of juſtice [12]: an indignity not hitherto offered to a crowned head. A. D. 1268

IN conſequence of the revolution that followed this barbarity, by which Charles, count of Anjou, eſtabliſhed himſelf on the Sicilian throne, the ancient rights of that iſland were annihilated, and it fell entirely under the juriſdiction of the pope. Meanwhile St. Lewis, who either out of reſpect to his holineſs, or of complaiſance to his brother, thus beheld with indifference the liberties of mankind ſacrificed, and the blood of princes unjuſtly ſpilt, was preparing to lead a new army againſt the Infidels. He hoped to make a convert of the king of Tunis; and, for that purpoſe, landed on the coaſt of Africa, ſword in hand, at the head of his troops. A.D. 1270.

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But the Muſſulman refuſed to embrace Chriſtianity: the French army was ſeized with an epidemical diſtemper; of which Lewis beheld one of his ſons expire, and another at the point of death, when he was ſeized
A.D. 1271. with it himſelf, and died in the fifty-ſixth year of his age. His ſon and ſucceſſor, Philip, recovered; kept the field againſt the Moors; and ſaved the remains of the French army, which procured him the name of the Hardy [13]. But the reign of this prince muſt not at preſent engage your attention: we muſt return to the affairs of Spain, which had ſtill little connexion with the reſt of Europe, but was every day riſing into conſequence.

LETTER

LETTER XXXI.

SPAIN, *from the Middle of the Eleventh to the End of the Thirteenth* CENTURY.

LETTER XXXI.

WE left Spain, my dear Philip, towards the middle of the eleventh contury, diſmembered by the Moors and Chriſtians, and both a prey to civil wars. About that time Ferdinand, ſon of Sancho, ſurnamed the Great, king of Navarre and Arragon, reunited to his dominions Old Caſtile, together with the kingdom of Leon, which he took from his brother-in-law, whom he ſlew in battle. Caſtile then became a kingdom, and Leon one of its provinces [1]. A.D. 1037.

IN the reign of this Ferdinand lived Don Roderigo, ſurnamed the Cid, who actually married Chimene, whoſe father he had murdered. Thoſe who know nothing of this hiſtory, but from the celebrated tragedy written by Corneille, ſuppoſe that Ferdinand was in poſſeſſion of Andaluſia. The Cid began his famous exploits by aſſiſting Don Sancho, Ferdinand's eldeſt ſon, to ſtrip his brothers and ſiſters of the inheritance left them by their father; but Sancho being murdered in one of theſe unjuſt expeditions, his brothers entered again into poſſeſſion of their eſtates. A.D. 1072.

A SHORT digreſſion will here be neceſſary. Beſides the many kings at this time in Spain, who amounted to near the number of twenty, there were alſo many independent lords, who came on horſe-back completely armed, and followed by ſeveral ſquires, to offer their ſervice to the princes and princeſſes engaged in war.

LETTER XXXI.

The princes with whom theſe lords engaged girded them with a belt, and preſented them with a ſword, with which they gave them a ſlight blow on the ſhoulder; and hence the origin of knights-errant, and of the number of ſingle combats, which ſo long deſolated Spain.

One of the moſt celebrated of theſe combats was fought after the murder of that king Sancho, whoſe death I have juſt mentioned, and who was aſſaſſinated while he was beſieging his ſiſter Auraca in the city of Zamora. Three knights maintained the honour of the infanta againſt Don Diego de Lara, who had accuſed her. Don Diego overthrew and killed two of the infanta's knights, and the horſe of the third having the reins of his bridle cut, carried his maſter out of the liſts, and the combat was declared undecided.

Of all the Spaniſh knights, the Cid diſtinguiſhed himſelf moſt eminently againſt the Moors. Several knights ranged themſelves under his banner; and theſe knights, with their ſquires and horſemen, compoſed an army covered with iron, and mounted on the moſt beautiful ſteeds in the country. With this force he overcame ſeveral Mooriſh kings; and having fortified the city of Alcaſſar, he there erected a little ſovereignty.

But of the various enterpriſes in which the Cid and his followers were engaged, the moſt gallant was the ſiege of Toledo, which his maſter Alphonſo VI. king of Old Caſtile, undertook againſt the Moors. The noiſe of this ſiege, and the Cid's reputation, brought many knights and princes from France and Italy; particularly Raymond, count of Thouloufe, and two princes of the blood of France, of the branch of Burgundy. The Mooriſh king, named Hiaya, was the ſon of Almamon, one of the moſt generous princes mentioned in hiſtory,

and

and who had given an aſylum, in this very city of Toledo, to Alphonſo, when perſecuted by his brother Sancho. They had lived together for a long time in ſtrict friendſhip; and Almamon was ſo far from detaining Alphonſo, when he became king by the death of Sancho, that he gave him part of his treaſures, and they ſhed tears, it is ſaid, at parting. But the ſpirit of thoſe times made every thing lawful againſt Infidels, and even meritorious. Several Mooriſh princes went out of the city to reproach Alphonſo with his ingratitude, and many remarkable combats were fought under the walls.

THIS ſiege laſted a whole year; at the end of which Toledo capitulated, on condition that the Moors ſhould enjoy their religion and laws, and ſuffer no injury in their perſons or property [2]. All New Caſtile, in a ſhort time, yielded to the Cid, who took poſſeſſion of it in the name of Alphonſo; and Madrid, a ſmall place, which was one day to be the capital of Spain, came for the firſt time into the hands of the Chriſtians. A. D. 1085.

IMMEDIATELY after the reduction of Toledo, Alphonſo called an aſſembly of biſhops, who without the concurrence of the people, formerly thought neceſſary, promoted a prieſt named Bernard to the biſhopric of that city; and pope Urban II. at the king's requeſt, made him primate of Spain. The king and the pope were alſo anxious to eſtabliſh the Roman liturgy and ritual in place of the Gothic, or Muſarabic, hitherto in uſe. The Spaniards contended zealouſly for the ritual of their anceſtors: the pope urged them to receive that to which he had given his infallible ſanction; a violent ſquabble aroſe; and to the diſgrace of human reaſon, a religious opinion was referred to the deciſion of the ſword. Two knights accordingly entered the liſts in complete armour: the Muſarabic champion

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was victorious; but the king and the archbiſhop had influence enough to get a new trial appointed, though contrary to all the laws of combat. The next appeal was to God by fire. A fire was prepared for that purpoſe; and a copy of each liturgy was caſt into the flames. The fire, moſt likely, reſpected neither; but authority prevailed: the Roman liturgy was ordered to be received; yet ſome churches were permitted to retain the Muſarabic [3].

Alphonso, either from policy or inclination, augmented the dominions which he had acquired thro' the valour of the Cid, by marrying Zaid, daughter of Abenhabet, king of Seville, with whom he received ſeveral towns in dowry: and he is reproached with having, in conjunction with his father-in-law, invited the miramolin of Africa into Spain. But be that as it may, the miramolin came; and, inſtead of aſſiſting, as was expected, the king of Seville, in reducing the petty Mooriſh princes, he turned his arms againſt Abenhabet, took the city of Seville, and became a dangerous neighbour to Alphonſo [4].

A.D. 1097.

In the mean time the Cid, at the head of his army of knights, ſubdued the kingdom of Valentia. Few kings in Spain were, at that time, ſo powerful as he; yet he never aſſumed the regal title, but continued faithful to his maſter Alphonſo. He governed Valentia, however, with all the authority of a ſovereign, receiving ambaſſadors, and being treated with the higheſt reſpect by all nations. After his death, which happened in 1096, the kings of Caſtile and Arragon continued their wars againſt the Moors; and Spain was more drenched in blood than ever, and more deſolated.

Alphonso, ſurnamed the Battle-giver, king of Navarre

varre and Arragon, took Saragoſſa from the Moors; which city afterwards became the capital of the kingdom of Arragon, and never again returned under the dominion of the Infidels. He was continually at war either with the Chriſtians or Mahometans; and the latter gained a complete victory over him, which mortified him ſo much, that he died of chagrin, leaving his kingdom by will to the Knights Templars. This was bequeathing a civil war as his laſt legacy. The teſtament was eſteemed valid: but fortunately theſe knights were not in a condition to enforce it; and the ſtates of Arragon choſe for their king Don Remiero, brother to the deceaſed monarch. He had led a monaſtic life for upwards of forty years, and proved incapable of governing. The people of Navarre choſe another prince, deſcended from their ancient monarchs; and, by this diviſion, both theſe ſtates became a prey to the Moors. They were ſaved by the timely aſſiſtance of Alphonſo VII. king of Caſtile; who had obtained many victories over the Infidels, and in return for his protection received the city of Saragoſſa from the Arragoneſe, and the homage of the king of Navarre. This ſucceſs ſo much elated Alphonſo, that he aſſumed the title of emperor of Spain [5].

A.D. 1118.

Alphonso Henriquez, count of Portugal, received about this time the title of king from his ſoldiers, after a victory obtained over the Moors; and he took Liſbon from them, by the aſſiſtance of the cruſaders, as has been already mentioned. On this occaſion pope Alexander III. ſteady to the policy of his predeceſſors, took advantage of the papal maxim, that all countries conquered from the Infidels belonged to the holy ſee, to aſſert his ſuperiority over Portugal; and Alphonſo politically allowed him an annual tribute of two marks of gold, on receiving a bull from Rome confirming

A.D. 1147.

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firming his regal dignity, and his infallible right to that territory [6].

A.D. 1179.

A very few efforts would now have been ſufficient to have driven the Moors entirely out of Spain: but for that purpoſe it was neceſſary, that the Spaniſh Chriſtians ſhould be united among themſelves; whereas they were unhappily at perpetual war with one another. They united, however, at length, from a ſenſe of common danger, and alſo implored the aſſiſtance of the other Chriſtian princes of Europe.

A.D. 1211.

Mahomet Ben Joſeph, miramolin of Africa, having croſſed the ſea with an army of near one hundred thouſand men, and being joined by the Moors in Andaluſia, aſſured himſelf of making an entire conqueſt of Spain. The rumour of this great armament rouſed the attention of the whole European continent: many adventurers came from all quarters: to theſe the kings of Caſtile, Arragon, and Navarre, united their forces: the kingdom of Portugal alſo furniſhed a body of troops; and the Chriſtian and Mahometan armies met in the defiles of the Black Mountain, or Sierra Morena, on the borders of Andaluſia, and in the province of Toledo. Alphonſo the Noble, king of Caſtile, commanded the centre of the Chriſtian army; the archbiſhop of Toledo carried the croſs before him. The miramolin occupied the ſame place in the Mooriſh army: he was dreſſed in a rich robe, with the Koran in one hand, and a ſabre in the other. The battle was long and obſtinate; but, at length, the Chriſtians prevailed [7]: and the ſixteenth of July, the day on which the victory was gained, is ſtill celebrated in Toledo.

A.D. 1212.

The conſequences of this victory, however, were not ſo great as might have been expected. The Moors of Andaluſia were ſtrengthened by the remains of the African

African army, while that of the Chriſtians was immediately diſperſed. Almoſt all the knights, who had been preſent at the battle, returned to their reſpective homes as ſoon as it was over. But though the Chriſtians ſeemed thus to neglect their true intereſt, by allowing the Mahometans time to recruit themſelves, the Moors employed that time more to their own hurt, than the Chriſtians could, if united againſt them. All the Mooriſh ſtates, both in Spain and Africa, were rent in pieces by civil diſſentions, and a variety of new ſovereignties ſprung up, which entirely broke the power of the Infidels.

THE period ſeemed therefore arrived, to uſe the language of that haughty and ſuperſtitious nation, marked out by Heaven for the glory of Spain, and the expulſion of the Moors. Ferdinand III. ſtiled by his countrymen St. Ferdinard, took from the Infidels the famous city of Cordova, the reſidence of the firſt Mooriſh kings; and James I. of Arragon diſpoſſeſſed them of the iſland of Majorca, and drove them out of the fine kingdom of Valentia. St. Ferdinand alſo ſubdued the province of Murcia, and made himſelf maſter of Seville, the moſt opulent city belonging to the Moors [8]. Death at length put an end to his conqueſts: and if divine honours are due to thoſe, who have been the deliverers of their country, Spain juſtly reverences the name of Ferdinand III.

A D. 1236.

A.D. 1238.

A.D. 1248.

A.D. 1252.

ALPHONSO, ſurnamed the Aſtronomer, or the Wiſe, the ſon of St. Ferdinand, likewiſe exalted the glory of Spain; but in a manner very different from that of his father. This prince, who rivalled the Arabians in the ſciences, digeſted the celebrated Spaniſh code, called *Las Partidas*; and under his inſpection thoſe aſtronomical tables were drawn up, which ſtill bear his name, and do honour to his memory. In his old age, he

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A. D. 1283.

he ſaw his ſon Sancho rebel againſt him; and was reduced to the diſagreeable neceſſity of leaguing with the Moors againſt his own blood, and his rebellious Chriſtian ſubjects. This was not the firſt alliance which Chriſtians had entered into with Mahometans, againſt other Chriſtians; but it was certainly the moſt juſt.

ALPHONSO invited to his aſſiſtance the miramolin of Africa, who immediately croſſed the ſea; and the two monarchs met at Zara, on the confines of Granada. The behaviour and ſpeech of the miramolin, on this occaſion, deſerves to be tranſmitted to the lateſt poſterity. He gave the place of honour to Alphonſo at meeting: "I treat you thus," ſaid he "becauſe you are unfortunate; and enter into alliance "with you, merely to revenge the common cauſe of "all kings and all fathers."

THE rebels were overcome: but the good old king died before he had time to enjoy the fruits of his victory; and the miramolin being obliged to return to Africa, the unnatural Sancho ſucceeded to the crown in prejudice to the offſpring of a former marriage. He even reigned happily; and his ſon Ferdinand IV. took

A. D. 1303.

Gibraltar from the Moors [9].

THIS Ferdinand is called by the Spaniſh hiſtorians the Summoned; and the reaſon they aſſign for it is ſomewhat remarkable. Having ordered two noblemen, in a fit of anger, to be thrown from the top of a rock; thoſe noblemen, before they were puſhed off, ſummoned him to appear in the preſence of God within a month, at the end of which he died [10]. It is to be wiſhed, as Voltaire very juſtly obſerves, that this ſtory were true, or at leaſt believed to be ſo, by all who think they

they have a right to follow their own imperious wills to the ruin of their fellow creatures. LETTER XXXI.

THESE, my dear Philip, are the circumſtances moſt worthy of notice in the Spaniſh hiſtory, during the period here examined. We muſt now take a view of the progreſs of Society.

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LETTER XXXII.

The Progreſs of SOCIETY *in* EUROPE *during the Twelfth and Thirteenth Centuries.*

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YOU have already ſeen letters begin to revive, and manners to ſoften, about the middle of the eleventh century. But the progreſs of refinement was ſlow during the two ſucceeding centuries, and often altogether obſtructed by the diſorders of the feudal anarchy. Society, however, made many beneficial advances, before the cloſe of that period; which it ſhall be the buſineſs of this letter to trace.

THE influence of the ſpirit of Chivalry on manners, as I formerly obſerved, was great and ſingular: it enlarged the generoſities of the human heart, and ſoothed its ferocity. But being unhappily blended with ſuperſtition, it became itſelf the means of violence; armed one half of the ſpecies againſt the other, and precipitated Europe upon Aſia. I allude to the cruſades. Yet theſe romantic expeditions, though barbarous and deſtructive in themſelves, were followed by many important conſequences, equally conducive to the welfare of the community and of the individual. Thoſe who aſſumed the croſs being taken under the immediate protection of the church, and its heavieſt anathemas denounced againſt ſuch as ſhould moleſt their perſons or their property, private hoſtilities were for a time ſuſpended or extinguiſhed; the feudal ſovereigns became more powerful, and their vaſſals leſs turbulent; a more ſteady adminiſtration of juſtice was introduced, and ſome advances were made towards a regular government.

THE

THE commercial effects of the cruſades were not leſs conſiderable than their political influence. Many veſſels were neceſſary to tranſport the prodigious armies which Europe poured forth, and alſo to ſupply them with proviſions. Theſe veſſels were principally furniſhed by the Venetians, the Piſans, and the Genoeſe; who acquired, by that ſervice, immenſe ſums of money, and opened to themſelves, at the ſame time, a new ſource of wealth, by importing into Europe the commodities of Aſia. A taſte for theſe commodities became general. The Italian cities grew rich, powerful, and obtained extenſive privileges. Some of them erected themſelves into ſovereignties, others into corporations or independent communities [1]; and the eſtabliſhment of theſe communities may be conſidered as the firſt great ſtep towards civilization in Modern Europe.

THIS ſubject requires your particular attention. The feudal government, as I have frequently had occaſion to obſerve, had degenerated into a ſyſtem of oppreſſion. The nobles had reduced the great body of the people to a ſtate of actual ſervitude, and the condition of thoſe denominated free, was little, if at all, more deſirable. Not only the inhabitants of the country, but even cities and villages held of ſome great lord, on whom they depended for protection; and the citizens were no leſs ſubject to his arbitrary juriſdiction, than thoſe employed in cultivating the eſtates of their maſters. Services of various kinds, equally diſgraceful and oppreſſive, were exacted from them, without mercy or moderation: and they were deprived of the moſt natural and unalienable rights of humanity. They could not diſpoſe of their effects by will; appoint guardians to their children; or even marry without the conſent of their ſuperior lord [2].

MEN in ſuch a condition had few motives to induſ-

try;

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try; and accordingly we find all the cities in Europe, before their enfranchiſement, equally poor and wretched. But no ſooner were they formed into bodies politic, governed by magiſtrates choſen from among their own members, than the ſpirit of induſtry revived, and commerce began to flouriſh. Population increaſed with independency; the conveniences of life, with the means of procuring them: property gave birth to ſtatutes and regulations; a ſenſe of common intereſt enforced them; and the more frequent occaſions of intercourſe among men, and between kingdoms, gradually led to a greater refinement in manners, and tended to wear off thoſe national and local prejudices which create diſſention and animoſity between the inhabitants of different ſtates and provinces.

THE manner in which theſe immunities were obtained, was different in the different kingdoms of Europe. Some of the Italian cities, as you have ſeen, acquired their freedom by arms, others by money; and in France and Germany, many of the great barons were glad to ſell charters of liberty to the towns within their juriſdiction, in order to repair the expence, incurred by the cruſades. The ſovereigns alſo granted, or ſold, like privileges to the towns within the royal domain, in order to create ſome power that might counterbalance their potent vaſſals, who often gave law to the crown[3]. The practice quickly ſpread over Europe; and, before the end of the thirteenth century, its beneficial effects were generally felt.

THESE effects were no leſs extenſive upon government than upon manners. Self-preſervation had obliged every man, during ſeveral centuries, to court the patronage of ſome powerful baron, whoſe caſtle was the common aſylum in times of danger; but towns ſurrounded with walls, and filled with citizens trained to arms,

arms, bound by intereſt as well as the moſt ſolemn engagements to protect each other, afforded a more commodious and more ſecure retreat: the nobles became of leſs importance, when they ceaſed to be the ſole guardians of the people; and the crown acquired an increaſe of power and conſequence, when it no longer depended entirely upon its great vaſſals for the ſupply of its armies. The cities contributed liberally towards the ſupport of the royal authority, as they regarded the ſovereigns as the authors of their liberty, and their protectors againſt the domineering ſpirit of the nobles. Hence another conſequence of corporation-charters. The inhabitants of cities having obtained perſonal freedom and municipal juriſdiction, ſoon aſpired at civil liberty and political power: and the ſovereigns, in moſt kingdoms, found it neceſſary to admit them to a ſhare in the legiſlature, on account of their utility in raiſing the ſupplies of government; for it was a fundamental principle in the feudal policy, that no free man could be taxed but by his own conſent. The citizens were now free; and the wealth, the power, and the conſequence which they acquired on recovering their liberty, added weight to their claim to political eminence, and ſeemed to mark them out as an eſſential branch in the conſtitution. They had it much in their power to ſupply the exigencies of the crown, and alſo to repreſs the encroachments of the nobles. In England, Germany, and even in France, where the voice of liberty is heard no more, the repreſentatives of communities accordingly obtained, by different means, a place in the national council, as early as the beginning of the fourteenth century [4].

THUS, my dear Philip, an intermediate power was eſtabliſhed between the king and nobles, to which each had recourſe alternately, and which ſometimes oppoſed the one and ſometimes the other. It tempered the ri-

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gour of ariſtocratical oppreſſion with a mixture of popular liberty, at the ſame time that it reſtrained the uſurpations of the crown: it ſecured to the great body of the people, who had formerly no repreſentatives, active and powerful guardians of their rights and liberties; and it entirely changed the ſpirit of laws, by introducing into the ſtatutes, and the juriſprudence of the European nations, ideas of equality, order, and the public good.

To this new power that part of the people ſtill in ſervitude, which reſided in the country, and was employed in agriculture, looked up for freedom. They obtained it, though contrary to the ſpirit of the feudal policy. The odious names of maſter and ſlave were aboliſhed. The huſbandman became farmer of the ſame fields which he had formerly been compelled to cultivate for the benefit of another. He reaped the fruits of his own induſtry. New proſpects opened, new incitements were offered to ingenuity and enterprize. The activity of genius was awakened; and a numerous claſs of men, who formerly had no political exiſtence, were reſtored to ſociety, and augmented the force and riches of the ſtate.

THE ſecond great advance which ſociety made during the period under review, was an approach to a more regular adminiſtration of juſtice. The barbarous nations who over-ran the Roman empire, and ſettled in its provinces, rejected the Roman juriſprudence, as I have already had occaſion to obſerve, with the ſame contempt that they ſpurned the Roman arts. Both reſpected objects of which they had no conception, and were adapted to a ſtate of ſociety with which they were entirely unacquainted. But as civilization advanced, they became ſenſible of the imperfection of their own inſtitutions, with whoſe abſurdity you are ſufficiently acquainted.

acquainted. The trial by ordeal and by duel was aboliſhed in moſt countries, and various attempts were made to reſtrain the practice of private war; one of the greateſt abuſes in the feudal policy, and which ſtruck at the foundation of all government.

As the authority of the civil magiſtrate was found ineffectual to remedy this evil, the church interpoſed, and various regulations were publiſhed, in order to ſet bounds to private hoſtilities. But thoſe all proving inſufficient, ſupernatural means were employed: a letter was ſent from heaven to a biſhop of Aquitaine, enjoining men to ceaſe from violence, and be reconciled to each other. This revelation was publiſhed during a ſeaſon of public calamity, when men were willing to perform any thing, in order to avert the wrath of an offended God. A general reconciliation took place; and a reſolution was formed, that no man ſhould, in times to come, attack or moleſt his adverſaries during the ſeaſons ſet apart for celebrating the great feſtivals of the church, or from the evening of Thurſday in each week, to the morning of Monday in the week enſuing, the intervening days being conſidered as particularly holy, our Saviour's paſſion having happened on one of theſe days, and his reſurrection on another. This ceſſation from hoſtilities was called "The Truce of God;" and three complete days, in every week, allowed ſuch a conſiderable ſpace for the paſſions of the antagoniſts to cool, and for the people to enjoy a reſpite from the calamities of war, as well as to take meaſures for their own ſecurity, that if the truce of God had been exactly obſerved, it muſt have gone far towards putting an end to private wars. That however was not the caſe; the nobles proſecuted their quarrels as formerly, till towards the end of the twelfth century, when a carpenter of Guienne gave out, that Jeſus Chriſt, together with the bleſſed virgin, had appeared to

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him, and having commanded him to exhort mankind to peace, had given him, as a proof of his miſſion, an image of the virgin holding her ſon in her arms, with this inſcription: "Lamb of God, who takeſt away the "ſins of the world, give us peace!" This low fanatic was received as an inſpired meſſenger of Heaven. Many prelates and barons aſſembled at Puy, and took an oath, not only to make peace with all their own enemies, but to attack ſuch as refuſed to lay down their arms, and to be reconciled to their enemies. They formed an aſſociation for that purpoſe, and aſſumed the honourable name of "The Brotherhood of God". Like aſſociations were formed in other countries; and theſe, together with civil prohibitions, enforced by royal power, contributed to remove this pernicious evil [5].

When ſociety was thus emerging from barbariſm, and men were become ſenſible of the neceſſity of order, a copy of Juſtinian's Pandects was diſcovered at Amalphi, in Italy; and though the age had ſtill too little taſte to reliſh the beauty of the Roman claſſics, it immediately perceived the merit of a ſyſtem of laws, in which all the points moſt intereſting to mankind, were ſettled with preciſion, diſcernment, and equity. All men of letters were ſtruck with admiration of the wiſdom of the ancients: the Juſtinian code was ſtudied with eagerneſs; and profeſſors of civil law were appointed, who taught this new ſcience in moſt countries of Europe.

The effects of ſtudying and imitating ſo perfect a model, were, as might be expected, great. Fixed and general laws were eſtabliſhed; the principles and the forms by which judges ſhould regulate their deciſions were aſcertained; the feudal law was reduced into a regular ſyſtem; the canon law was methodiſed; the looſe uncertain cuſtoms of different provinces or kingdoms,

doms, were collected and aranged with order and accuracy: and these improvements in the system of jurisprudence had an extensive influence upon society. They gave rise to a distinction of professions.

AMONG rude nations no profession is honourable but that of arms; and, as the functions of peace are few and simple, war is the only study. Such had been the state of Europe during several centuries. But when law became a science, the knowledge of which required a regular course of studies, together with long attention to the practice of courts, a new order of men naturally acquired consideration and influence in society. Another profession besides that of arms was introduced, and reputed honourable among the laity: the talents requisite for discharging it were cultivated; the arts and virtues of peace were placed in their proper rank; and the people of Europe became accustomed to see men rise to eminence by civil, as well as military employments[6].

THE study of the Roman law had also a considerable influence upon letters. The knowledge of a variety of sciences became necessary, in order to expound with judgment the civil code; and the same passion which made men prosecute the juridical science with so much ardour, made them anxious to excel in every branch of literature. Colleges and universities were founded, a regular course of studies was planned, and a regular set of professors established. Privileges of great value were conferred upon masters and scholars; academical titles and honours were invented, as rewards for the different degrees of literary eminence; and an incredible number of students, allured by these advantages, resorted to the new seats of learning[7].

BUT a false taste unhappily infected all those semi-

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naries, which is thus ingeniouſly accounted for by learned and inquiſitive writer:—Moſt of the perſons who attempted to revive literature in the twelfth and thirteenth centuries, had received inſtruction, and derived their principles of ſcience, from the Greeks in the Eaſtern empire, or the Arabs in Spain and Africa. Both theſe people, acute and inquiſitive to exceſs, corrupted thoſe ſciences which they cultivated: the Greeks rendered theology a ſyſtem of ſpeculative refinement, or endleſs controverſy; and the Arabs communicated to philoſophy a ſpirit of metaphyſical and frivolous ſubtlety. Miſled by theſe guides, the perſons who firſt applied to ſcience were involved in a maze of intricate inquiries. Inſtead of allowing their fancy to take its natural range, and produce ſuch works of elegant invention as might have improved the taſte, and refined the ſentiments of the age; inſtead of cultivating thoſe arts which embelliſh human life, and render it delightful, they ſpent the whole force of their genius in ſpeculations as unavailing as they were difficult [s].

But fruitleſs and ill-directed as theſe ſpeculations were, their novelty rouſed, and their boldneſs engaged the human mind; and though ſcience was further circumſcribed in its influence, and prevented during ſeveral ages from diffuſing itſelf thro' ſociety, by being delivered in the Latin tongue, its progreſs deſerves to be mentioned, as one of the great cauſes which contributed to introduce a change of manners into modern Europe. That ardent, though miſtaken ſpirit of inquiry which prevailed, put ingenuity and invention in motion, and gave them vigour: it led men to a new employment of their faculties, which they found to be agreeable as well as intereſting; it accuſtomed them to exerciſes and occupations, that tended to ſoften their manners, and to give them ſome reliſh

reliſh for thoſe gentle virtues, which are peculiar to nations among whom ſcience has been ſucceſsfully cultivated.

SOME ages indeed elapſed before taſte, order, and politeneſs were reſtored to ſociety: but anarchy and barbariſm gradually diſappeared with ignorance; the evils of life, with its crimes; and public and private happineſs were daily better underſtood; till Europe, wiſely governed! came to enjoy all thoſe advantages, pleaſures, amuſements, and tender ſympathies, which are neceſſary to alleviate the pains inſeparable from exiſtence, and ſoothe the ſorrows allied to humanity.

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ENGLAND *during the Reign of* EDWARD I. *with an Introduction to the Hiſtory of* SCOTLAND; *ſome Account of the Conqueſt of that Country by the* ENGLISH, *and the final Reduction of* WALES.

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THE reign of Edward I. my dear Philip, as I have already obſerved, forms an era in the hiſtory of Britain: I muſt now make you ſenſible what entitles it to that diſtinction.

A. D. 1274. As ſoon as Edward returned to England, (where his authority was firmly eſtabliſhed, by his high character both at home and abroad) he applied himſelf aſſiduouſly to the correcting of thoſe diſorders, which the civil commotions, and the looſe adminiſtration of his father, had introduced into every part of government. His policy, though ſevere, was equally generous and prudent. By an exact diſtribution of juſtice, and a rigid execution of the laws, he gave at once protection to the inferior orders of the ſtate, and diminiſhed the arbitrary power of the great. He made it a rule in his own conduct to obſerve, except upon extraordinary occaſions, the privileges ſecured to the barons by the Great Charter, and he inſiſted on their obſervance of the ſame charter towards their vaſſals: he made the crown be regarded as the great fountain of juſtice, and the general aſylum againſt violence and oppreſſion. By theſe wiſe meaſures the ſtate of the kingdom was ſoon changed; order and tranquility were reſtored to ſociety, and vigour to government [1].

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Now it was, that the enterprifing ſpirit of Edward began more remarkably to ſhew itſelf. He undertook an expedition againſt Lewellyn prince of Wales, who had formerly joined the rebellious barons, and whoſe two brothers, David and Roderic, had fled to Edward for protection, craving his aſſiſtance to recover their poſſeſſions, and ſeconding his attempts to enſlave their native country. A.D. 1276.

THE Welch prince had no reſource againſt the ſuperior force of Edward, but the inacceſſible ſituation of his mountains, which had hitherto protected his forefathers againſt all the attempts of the Saxon and Norman conquerors. He accordingly retired with the braveſt of his ſubjects among the hills of Snowdon: but Edward, no leſs vigorous than cautious, pierced into the heart of the country, and approached the Welch army in its laſt retreat. Having carefully ſecured every paſs behind him, he avoided putting to trial the valour of a nation proud of its ancient independency: he truſted to the more ſlow but ſure effects of famine for ſucceſs; and Lewellyn was at length obliged to ſubmit, and receive the terms impoſed upon him by the Engliſh monarch [2]. A.D. 1277.

THESE terms, though ſufficiently ſevere, were but ill obſerved by the victors. The Engliſh oppreſſed and inſulted the inhabitants of the diſtricts which were yielded to them. The indignation of the Welch was rouſed: they flew to arms; and Edward again entered Wales with an army, not diſpleaſed with the occaſion of making his conqueſt final. Lewellyn was ſurpriſed by Mortimer and ſlain, together with two thouſand of his followers. All the Welch nobility ſubmitted to Edward, and the laws of England were eſtabliſhed in that principality [3]. A.D. 1283.

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In order to preſerve his conqueſt, Edward had recourſe to a barbarous policy. He ordered David, brother to Lewellyn, and his ſucceſſor in the principality of Wales, to be hanged, drawn, and quartered, as a traitor, for taking arms in defence of his native country, which he had once unhappily deſerted, and for maintaining by force his own hereditary authority. He alſo ordered all the Welch bards to be collected together and put to death; from a belief, and no abſurd one, that he ſhould more eaſily ſubdue the independent ſpirit of the people, when their minds ceaſed to be roufed by the ideas of military valour and ancient glory, preſerved in the traditional poems of theſe minſtrels, and recited or ſung by them on all public occaſions and days of feſtivity [4].

A D. 1284.

Edward's conduct, in regard to Scotland, at which his ambition now pointed, is little more excuſable. But ſeveral things muſt be premiſed, my dear Philip, before I proceed to his tranſactions with that country.

On the final departure of the Romans from this iſland, you have ſeen the Scots and Picts, its northern inhabitants, ravaging South Britain. They were repelled, but not ſubdued by the Saxons; and the firſt Norman princes were too much occupied with the affairs of the continent to puſh their conqueſts beyond the Tweed. Meanwhile fierce and bloody wars were, during ſeveral ages, carried on between the Scots and Picts; and Kenneth II. the ſixty-ninth Scottiſh king, according to tradition, had obtained, in 838, a complete victory over the Picts, and united under one monarchy the whole country at preſent known by the name of Scotland. The Scots now became more formidable; and having leſs buſineſs on their hands at home, were always ready to join the Engliſh malcontents, and made frequent in-

incurſions into the northern counties. In one of theſe incurſions, as I have had occaſion to notice, William king of Scotland was taken priſoner; and Henry II. as the price of his liberty, not only extorted from him an exorbitant ranſom, and a promiſe to ſurrender the places of greateſt ſtrength in his dominions, but compelled him to do homage for his whole kingdom. Richard I. a more generous, but leſs politic prince, than his father, ſolemnly renounced this claim of homage, and abſolved William from the other hard conditions which Henry had impoſed. The crown of Scotland was therefore again independent, and the northern potentate only did homage for the fiefs which he enjoyed in England, (a circumſtance which has occaſioned many miſtakes, and much diſpute among hiſtorians) in the ſame manner, as the king of England himſelf ſwore fealty to the French monarch, for the fiefs which he inherited in France. But on the death of Alexander III. near a century after the captivity of William, Edward I. availing himſelf of the ſituation of affairs in Scotland, revived the claim of ſovereignty which had been renounced by Richard [5]. A.D. 1286.

THIS is the real ſtate of the controverſy concerning the independency of Scotland, which took its riſe about this time, and in the following manner. As Alexander left no male iſſue, nor any deſcendant except Margaret of Norway, his grand-daughter, who did not long ſurvive him, the right of ſucceſſion belonged to the deſcendants of David, earl of Huntingdon, third ſon of king David I. Of that line, two illuſtrious competitors for the crown appeared: Robert Bruce, ſon of Iſabel, earl David's ſecond daughter; and John Baliol, grandſon of Margaret, the eldeſt daughter. According to the rules of ſucceſſion now eſtabliſhed, Baliol's right was preferable; he would ſucceed as the repreſentative of his mother and grandmother; and Bruce's plea

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of being one degree nearer the common ſtock would be diſregarded. But in that age the queſtion appeared no leſs intricate than important: the ſentiments of men were divided: each claim was ſupported by a powerful faction; and arms alone, it was feared, muſt terminate a diſpute too weighty for the laws to decide.

In this critical ſituation the parliament of Scotland, in order to avoid the miſeries of a civil war, embraced the dangerous reſolution of appealing to Edward; who was accordingly choſen umpire, and both parties agreed to acquieſce in his decree. Now it was that this ambitious and enterpriſing prince, already maſter of Wales, reſolved more determinedly to make himſelf lord of the whole iſland, by reviving his obſcure claim of feudal ſuperiority over Scotland. Under pretence of examining the queſtion with the utmoſt ſolemnity, he ſummoned all the Scottiſh barons to attend him in the
A.D. 1291. caſtle of Norham, a place ſituated on the ſouthern bank of the Tweed; and having gained ſome, and intimidated others, he prevailed on all who were preſent, not excepting Bruce and Baliol, the competitors, to acknowledge Scotland a fief of the Engliſh crown, and ſwear fealty to him as their ſovereign or liege lord [6].

This ſtep led to another ſtill more important. As it was in vain to pronounce a ſentence which he had not power to execute, Edward demanded poſſeſſion of the kingdom, that he might be able to deliver it to him whoſe right ſhould be found preferable: and this exorbitant demand was complied with both by the barons and the claimants. He ſoon after gave judgment in fa-
A.D. 1292. vour of Baliol, as being the leaſt formidable of the competitors, we are told, by a reſpectable hiſtorian [7]; but in juſtice to Edward, I am bound to ſay, that his award, which was no leſs equitable than ſolemn, ſeemed to proceed merely from the ſtate of the queſtion. He not

not only referred it to the conſideration of an hundred and forty commiſſioners, partly Engliſh and partly Scots, but propoſed it to all the celebrated lawyers in Europe, who returned an uniform anſwer conformable to the king's decree. Baliol renewed the oath of fealty to England, and was put in poſſeſſion of the kingdom [8].

EDWARD having thus eſtabliſhed his unjuſt claim of feudal ſuperiority over Scotland, aſpired next at the abſolute ſovereignty and dominion of that kingdom. He attempted to provoke Baliol by his indignities; to rouſe him to rebellion; and to rob him of his crown, as the puniſhment of his treaſon and felony. The paſſive ſpirit of Baliol accordingly began to mutiny; and he entered into a ſecret alliance with France, which was already engaged in a war with England, the more effectually to maintain his independency. A.D. 1295.

THE expences attending theſe multiplied wars of Edward, and his new preparations for reducing Scotland, obliged him to have frequent recourſe to parliamentary ſupplies, and introduced the lower orders of the ſtate into the public councils. This period therefore, the twenty-third year of his reign, ſeems to be the true era of the Houſe of Commons: for the former precedent of repreſentatives from the boroughs, ſummoned by the earl of Leiceſter, was regarded as the act of a violent uſurpation, and had been diſcontinued in all the ſubſequent parliaments. But when the multiplied neceſſities of the crown produced a greater demand for money, than could be conveniently anſwered by the common mode of taxation, Edward became ſenſible, that the moſt expeditious way of obtaining ſupplies was to aſſemble the deputies of all the boroughs; to lay before them the exigencies of the ſtate; to diſcuſs the matter in their preſence, and to require their conſent to the demands of

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of their ſovereign. He therefore iſſued writs to the ſheriffs, enjoining them to ſend to parliament, along with two knights of the ſhire, two deputies from each borough within their county, provided with ſufficient powers from their community, to conſent to what levies ſhould ſeem neceſſary for the ſupport of government. "As it is a moſt equitable rule," ſays he, in his preamble to this writ, "that what concerns all "ſhould be approved of by all; and common dangers "be repelled by united efforts[9]." Such a way of thinking implies a liberality of mind much ſuperior to what might be expected from Edward's general conduct.

THE aldermen and common-council, after the election of theſe deputies, gave ſurety for their attendance before the king and parliament; and their charges were borne by the borough that ſent them[10]. How different in that, as well as in other reſpects, from our more modern repreſentatives! — Inſtead of checking and controlling the authority of the king, they were naturally induced to adhere to him, as the great fountain of juſtice, and to ſupport him againſt the power of the nobles, who at once oppreſſed them, and diſturbed him in the execution of the laws. The king, in his turn, gave countenance to an order of men ſo uſeful and ſo little dangerous: the peers alſo were obliged to pay them ſome reſpect, on account of their conſequence as a body: and by theſe means the commons, or third eſtate, formerly ſo abject in England, as well as in all other European nations, roſe by degrees to their preſent importance; and, in their progreſs, made arts and commerce, the neceſſary attendants on liberty and equality, flouriſh in Britain.

EDWARD employed the ſupplies granted by his people in warlike preparations againſt his northern neighbour. He cited Baliol, as his vaſſal, to appear

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in an Engliſh parliament, to be held at Newcaſtle; but that prince, having now received pope Celeſtine's diſpenſation from his oath of fealty, renounced the homage which had been done to England, and ſet Edward at defiance. This bravado was but ill ſupported by the military operations of the Scots. Edward croſſed the Tweed without oppoſition, at the head of thirty thouſand foot, and four thouſand horſe. Berwick was taken by aſſault; the Scottiſh army was totally routed near Dunbar; the whole ſouthern part of the kingdom was ſubdued; and the timid Baliol, diſcontented with his own ſubjects, and over-awed by the Engliſh, inſtead of making uſe of thoſe reſources which were yet left, haſtened to make his ſubmiſſions to the conqueror. He expreſſed the deepeſt penitence for his diſloyalty to his liege-lord; and he made a ſolemn and irrevocable renunciation of his crown into the hands of Edward [11].

THE Engliſh monarch marched as far north as Aberdeen and Elgin, without meeting a ſingle enemy. No Scotchman approached him but to pay him ſubmiſſion and do him homage. Even the turbulent Highlanders, ever refractory to their own princes, and averſe to the reſtraints of law, endeavoured, by a timely obedience, to prevent the devaſtation of their country: and Edward flattering himſelf, that he had now attained the great object of his wiſhes, in the final reduction of Scotland, left earl Warrenne governor of the kingdom, and returned with his victorious army into England [12].

HERE a few particulars are neceſſary. There was a ſtone, to which the popular ſuperſtition of the Scots paid the higheſt veneration. All their kings were ſeated on it, when they received the rite of inauguration. Ancient tradition aſſured them, that their nation

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tion ſhould always govern where this ſtone was placed: and it was carefully preſerved at Scone, as the true palladium of their monarchy, and their ultimate reſource under all their misfortunes. Edward got poſſeſſion of it, and carried it with him into England. He gave orders to deſtroy all the records, and all thoſe monuments of antiquity, which might preſerve the memory of the independency of the kingdom, and refute the Engliſh claims of ſuperiority. The great ſeal of Baliol was broken, and that prince himſelf was carried priſoner to London, and committed to cuſtody in the Tower [13]. Two years after he was reſtored to liberty, and ſubmitted to a voluntary baniſhment in France; where, without making any further attempts for the recovery of his royalty, he died in a private ſtation.

EDWARD was not ſo ſucceſsful in an effort which he made for the recovery of Guienne. The French monarch had robbed England of this province, by an artifice ſimilar to that which Edward had practiſed againſt the Scots. An army was ſent over to recover it under the earl of Lancaſter, who died in a ſhort time; and the earl of Lincoln, who ſucceeded him in the command, failed in the attempt. But the active and ambitious ſpirit of Edward could not be ſatisfied ſo long as the ancient patrimony of his family remained in the hands of his rival. He therefore entered into an alliance with the earls of Holland and Flanders [14]; and hoped, that, when he ſhould enter the frontiers of France at the head of his Engliſh, Flemiſh, and Dutch armies, the French king would purchaſe peace by the reſtitution of Guienne.

BUT in order to ſet this vaſt machine in motion, conſiderable ſupplies were neceſſary from parliament; and theſe Edward readily obtained both from the lords and

and commons. He was not ſo fortunate in his impoſitions on the clergy, whom he always hated, and from whom he demanded a fifth of all their moveables, as a puniſhment for their adherence to the Mountfort faction. They urged the pope's bull in oppoſition to all ſuch demands; and Edward, inſtead of applying to Boniface VIII. then pontiff, for a relaxation of his bull, boldly told the eccleſiaſtics, that ſince they refuſed to ſupport the civil government, they were unworthy to receive any benefit from it, and he would accordingly put them out of the protection of the laws.

THIS vigorous meaſure was immediately carried into execution. Orders were iſſued to the judges to receive no cauſe brought before them by the clergy; to hear and decide all cauſes in which they were defendants; to do every one juſtice againſt them; but to do them juſtice againſt nobody. The eccleſiaſtics ſoon found themſelves in the moſt miſerable ſituation imaginable. They could not remain always in their own houſes or convents for want of ſubſiſtence: if they went abroad in queſt of neceſſaries, they were robbed and abuſed by every ruffian, and no redreſs could be obtained by them for the moſt violent injury. The ſpirits of the clergy were at laſt broken by this harſh treatment. They all either publickly or privately complied with the king's demands, and received the protection of the laws [15]. Not one eccleſiaſtic, as the ſagacious Hume remarks, ſeemed willing to ſuffer, for the ſake of religious privileges, this new ſpecies of martyrdom, the moſt tedious and languiſhing of any, the moſt mortifying to ſpiritual pride, and not rewarded by that crown of glory, which the church holds up with ſuch oſtentation to her faithful ſons.

BUT all theſe ſupplies were not ſufficient for the king's neceſſities. He was obliged to exert his arbi-

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trary power, and lay an oppreſſive hand on all orders of men in the kingdom. The people murmured, and
A.D. 1297. the barons mutinied, notwithſtanding their great perſonal regard to Edward. He was obliged to make conceſſions; to promiſe all his ſubjects a compenſation for the loſſes they had ſuſtained, and to confirm the Great Charter, with an additional clauſe, in order to ſecure the nation for ever againſt all impoſitions and taxes without conſent of parliament [16]. Theſe conceſſions, my dear Philip, our anceſtors had the honour of extorting, by their boldneſs and perſeverance, from the ableſt, the moſt warlike, and the moſt ambitious monarch that ever ſat upon the throne of England. The validity of the Great Charter was never afterwards formally diſputed.

So many domeſtic diſcontents obſtructed the king's embarkation for Flanders; ſo that he loſt the proper ſeaſon for action, and after his arrival made no great progreſs againſt the enemy. The French monarch,
A.D. 1298. however, propoſed a ceſſation of arms; and peace was ſoon after brought about by the mediation of the pope, in conſequence of which Guienne was reſtored to England.

In the meantime the Scots rebelled. Warrenne returning into England on account of his bad ſtate of health, left the adminiſtration entirely in the hands of Ormſby and Creſſingham; who, inſtead of acting with that prudence and moderation neceſſary to reconcile the Scottiſh nation to a yoke which they bore with ſuch extreme reluctance, exaſperated every man of ſpirit by the rigour and ſeverity of their government. Among theſe William Wallace, whoſe valorous exploits are the object of juſt panegyric, but to whm the fond admiration of the Scots has aſcribed many fabulous acts of proweſs, undertook and accompliſhed the deſperate project

project of delivering his native country from the dominion of foreigners. He had been provoked by the inſolence of an Engliſh officer to put him to death; and finding himſelf on that account obnoxious to the conquerors, he fled into the woods, and offered himſelf as a leader to all thoſe whom the oppreſſions of the Engliſh had reduced to like neceſſity. He was endowed with gigantic ſtrength of body; with heroic fortitude of mind; with diſintereſted magnanimity; with incredible patience, and ability to bear hunger, fatigue, and all the ſeverities of the ſeaſons: ſo that he ſoon acquired, among his deſperate aſſociates, that authority to which his virtues ſo eminently entitled him. Every day brought accounts of his gallant actions; which were received with no leſs favour by his countrymen, than terror by the enemy. All thoſe who thirſted after military fame were deſirous to partake of his renown: his ſucceſsful valour ſeemed to vindicate the nation from the ignominy into which it had fallen by its tame ſubmiſſion to the Engliſh; and although no nobleman of note ventured as yet to join his party, he had gained a general confidence and attachment, which birth and fortune alone are not able to confer.

So many fortunate enterpriſes brought the valour of Wallace's followers to correſpond with his own; and he determined to ſtrike a deciſive blow againſt the Engliſh government. Ormſby appriſed of this intention, fled haſtily into England, and all the other officers of his nation imitated his example. Their terror added courage to the Scots, who betook themſelves to arms in every quarter. Many of the principal barons openly countenanced Wallace's party: and the nation, ſhaking off its fetters, prepared to defend, by one united effort, that liberty which it had ſo unexpectedly recovered from the hands of its oppreſſors.

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MEANWHILE Warrenne having collected an army of forty thouſand men in the north of England, in order to re-eſtabliſh his authority, ſuddenly entered Annandale, before the Scots had united their forces, or put themſelves in a poſture of defence; and many of the nobles, alarmed at the danger of their ſituation, renewed their oaths of fealty, and received a pardon for paſt offences. But Wallace, ſtill undaunted, continued obſtinate in his purpoſe. As he found himſelf unable to give battle to the enemy, he marched northwards, with an intention of prolonging the war, and of turning to his advantage the ſituation of that mountainous and barren country. Warrenne attacked him
A. D. 1297. Sept. 11, in his camp near Stirling, on the banks of the Forth, where the Engliſh army was totally routed. Creſſingham, whoſe impatience urged this attack, was ſlain; Warrenne was obliged to retire into England, and the principal fortreſſes in Scotland ſurrendered to the conqueror [17].

WALLACE was now univerſally revered as the deliverer of his country, and received from his followers the title of Regent or guardian of the kingdom; a dignity which he well deſerved. Not ſatisfied with expelling the enemy, he urged his army to march into England, and revenge all paſt injuries, by retaliating on that hoſtile nation. The Scots, who deemed every thing poſſible with ſuch a leader, joyfully attended his call. They broke into the northern counties during the winter ſeaſon, laying every thing waſte before them; and after extending their ravages on all ſides, as far as the biſhopric of Durham, returned into their own country loaded with ſpoils, and crowned with glory, under the victorious Wallace [18].

EDWARD was in Flanders, when he received intelligence of theſe events; and having already concluded a peace with France, he haſtened over to England, in aſſured hopes, not only of wiping off every diſgrace,

but

but of recovering the important conqueſt of Scotland, which he had always conſidered as the chief glory of his reign. For this purpoſe he collected the whole military force of England, Wales, and Ireland; and marched with an army of near one hundred thouſand combatants to the northern frontiers. Scotland was never at any time able to withſtand ſuch a force. At preſent it was without a head, and torne by inteſtine jealouſies. The elevation of Wallace was the object of envy to the nobility, who repined to ſee a private man raiſed above them by his rank, and ſtill more by his reputation. Senſible of theſe evils, Wallace reſigned his authority; and the chief command devolved upon men more eminent by birth, though leſs diſtinguiſhed by abilities, but under whom the nobles were more willing to ſerve in defence of their country. They fixed their ſtation at Falkirk; where Edward came up with them, July 22, and the whole Scottiſh army was broken, and chaced off the field with great ſlaughter [19]. A.D. 1298.

THE ſubjection of Scotland however was not yet completed: the Engliſh army, after reducing all the ſouthern provinces, was obliged to retire for want of proviſions; and the Scots, no leſs enraged at their preſent defeat, than elevated by their paſt victories, ſtill maintained the conteſt for liberty. They were again victorious, and again ſubdued. Wallace alone, amidſt the univerſal ſlavery of his countrymen, ſtill maintained his independency. But he was at length betrayed to the Engliſh by his friend Sir John Montieth: and Edward, whoſe natural bravery and magnanimity ſhould have led him to reſpect like qualities in an enemy, ordered this illuſtrious hero to be carried in chains to London; to be tried as a rebel and traitor, though he had never made ſubmiſſions, or ſworn fealty to England, and to be executed on Tower-hill [20]. He could not think his favourite conqueſt ſecure, while Wallace A.D. 1299. A.D. 1305.

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was alive: hence the unworthy fate of a man, who had defended, through a courſe of many years, with ſignal valour and perſeverance, the liberties of his native country.

But the barbarous policy of Edward failed of the purpoſe to which it was directed. The cruelty and injuſtice exerciſed upon Wallace, inſtead of breaking the ſpirit, only rouſed more effectually the reſentment of the Scots. All the envy which, during his lifetime, had attended that gallant chieftain, being now buried in his grave, he was univerſally regarded as the champion of Scotland, and equally lamented by all ranks of men. The people were every where diſpoſed to riſe againſt the Engliſh government; and a new and more fortunate leader ſoon preſented himſelf, who conducted them to liberty, to victory, and to vengeance.

Robert Bruce, ſon of that Robert, who had been one of the competitors for the crown of Scotland, had
A.D. 1306. ſucceeded, by his father's death, to all his pretenſions; and the death of John Baliol, which happened nearly about the ſame time in France, ſeemed to open a full career to the genius and ambition of this young nobleman. He had formerly ſerved in the Engliſh army; but in a private conference held with Wallace, after the battle of Falkirk, the flame of patriotiſm was conveyed from the breaſt of one hero to that of another: he regretted his engagements with Edward, and ſecretly determined to ſeize the firſt opportunity of embracing the cauſe, however deſperate, of his oppreſſed country. The time ſeemed now come. He hoped that the Scots, without a leader, and without a king, would unanimouſly fly to his ſtandard, and ſeat him on the vacant throne. Inflamed by the fervour of youth, and buoyed up by native courage, his aſpiring ſpirit ſaw the glory alone of the enterpriſe, or regarded the difficulties

ties which attended it, as the ſource only of greater glory. The miſeries and oppreſſions which he had beheld his countrymen ſuffer in their unequal conteſt; the repeated defeats and misfortunes which they had undergone; proved to him ſo many incentives to bring them relief, and lead them to vengeance againſt the haughty victors. A.D. 1306.

In conſequence of this reſolution, and ſome ſuſpicions that Edward was appriſed of it, Bruce ſuddenly left the Engliſh court, and arrived in a few days at Dumfries in Annandale, the chief ſeat of his family intereſt. There a great number of the nobility were happily aſſembled, and among the reſt John Cummin, to whom he had formerly communicated his deſigns, and who had revealed them to Edward. The noblemen were aſtoniſhed at the appearance of Bruce; and yet more when he told them, that he was come to live or die with them in defence of the liberties of his country; and hoped, with their aſſiſtance, to redeem the Scottiſh name from all the indignities which it had ſo long ſuffered from the tyranny of their imperious maſters. It was better, he ſaid, if Heaven ſhould ſo decree it, to periſh at once like brave men, with ſwords in their hands, than to dread long, and at laſt undergo the fate of the unfortunate Wallace [21].

The ſpirit with which this diſcourſe was delivered, the bold ſentiments which it conveyed, the novelty of Bruce's declaration, aſſiſted by the graces of his youth and manly deportment, made deep impreſſion on the minds of the nobles, and rouſed all thoſe principles of indignation and revenge, with which they had long been ſecretly actuated. They declared their unanimous reſolution to uſe the utmoſt efforts in delivering their country from bondage, and to ſecond the courage of Bruce, in aſſerting his and their undoubted rights a-

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gainſt their common oppreſſors. Cummin alone, who had privately taken his meaſures with Edward, oppoſed the general determination, by repreſenting the great power of the Engliſh; and Bruce, already informed of his treachery, followed him out of the aſſembly, and running him through the body, left him for dead. Sir Thomas Kirkpatrick, one of Bruce's friends, aſked him on his return, if the traitor was ſlain. "I believe ſo," replied Bruce: "And is that a matter," cried Kirkpatrick, "to be left to conjecture?—I will "ſecure him." He accordingly drew his dagger, ran to Cummin, and ſtabbed him to the heart[22].

A. D. 1306.

THIS deed of Bruce and his aſſociates, my dear Philip, which contains circumſtances juſtly condemned by our preſent manners, was regarded in that age as an effort of manly vigour and juſt policy; hence the family of Kirkpatrick took for the creſt of their arms a hand with a bloody dagger; and as a motto the words employed by their anceſtor, when he executed that violent action, "I will ſecure him!"

THE murder of Cummin affixed the ſeal to the conſpiracy of the Scottiſh nobles. They had now no reſource left, but to ſhake off the yoke of England, or periſh in the attempt. The genius of the nation rouſed itſelf from its long dejection; and Bruce, flying to different quarters, excited his partizans every where to arms. He ſucceſsfully attacked the diſperſed bodies of the Engliſh; got poſſeſſion of many caſtles; and having made his authority be acknowledged in moſt parts of the kingdom, was ſolemnly crowned at Scone, by the biſhop of St. Andrews, who had zealouſly embraced his cauſe. The Engliſh were again driven out of the kingdom, except ſuch as took ſhelter in the fortreſſes ſtill in their hands; and Edward found that the

the Scots, already twice conquered by his valour, were yet to ſubdue. LETTER XXXIII.

Conscious however of his ſuperior force, as well as ſuperior ſkill in arms, this great monarch made light of his antagoniſt: he thought of nothing but victory and vengeance. He ſent a ſmall force into Scotland under Aymar de Valence, his general; who falling unexpectedly upon Bruce, threw his army into diſorder, and obliged him to take ſhelter in the Weſtern Iſles. Edward himſelf was advancing with a mighty force, determined to make the now defenceleſs Scots the victims of his ſeverity, when he unexpectedly ſickened and died at Carliſle; enjoining with his laſt breath his ſon and ſucceſſor to proſecute the war, and never to deſiſt till he had finally ſubdued the kingdom of Scotland[23]: but that, as we ſhall afterwards have occaſion to ſee, the ſecond Edward was little able to accompliſh. A.D. 1307.

The character of Edward I. as a warrior and politician, has already been ſufficiently delineated; I ſhall therefore forbear touching again on theſe particulars, and conclude this letter with his merit as a legiſlator, which has juſtly obtained him the honourable appellation of the Engliſh Juſtinian. The numerous ſtatutes paſſed during his reign mark the chief points of juriſprudence; and, as Sir Edward Coke obſerves, truly deſerve the name of eſtabliſhments, becauſe they were more conſtant, ſtanding, and durable laws, than any made ſince. The regular order maintained in his adminiſtration, alſo gave the Common Law an opportunity to refine itſelf; brought the judges to a certainty in their determinations, and the lawyers to preciſion in their pleadings. He ſettled the juriſdiction of the ſeveral courts; eſtabliſhed the office of juſtice of peace; completed the diviſion of the court of exchequer into four diſtinct courts,

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courts, each of which managed its ſeparate branch, without dependence on any one magiſtrate; and as the lawyers afterwards invented a method of carrying buſineſs from one court to another, the ſeveral courts became rivals and checks on each other, a circumſtance which tended very much to improve the practice of the law in this country [24]. But tho' Edward took ſo much care that his ſubjects ſhould do juſtice to each other, we cannot aſcribe it to his love of equity; for in all his tranſactions, either with them or with his neighbours, he always deſired to have his own hands free: and his violences upon both were not few.

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BRITAIN *during the Reign of* EDWARD II.

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THE critical ſituation of affairs between England and Scotland at the death of Edward I. makes it neceſſary, my dear Philip, to carry further the hiſtory of our own iſland, before we return to the nations on the continent.

No prince ever aſcended the Engliſh throne with more advantages than Edward II. He was in the twenty-third year of his age, and univerſally beloved by the people, both on account of the ſweetneſs of his own diſpoſition, and as the ſon and ſucceſſor of their illuſtrious monarch: he was at the head of a great army, ready to ſubject the whole iſland to his ſway; and all men promiſed themſelves tranquility and happineſs under his government. But the firſt act of his reign blaſted all theſe hopes, and ſhewed him totally unqualified for his high ſtation. Inſtead of proſecuting the conqueſt of Scotland, according to the deſire of his father, he returned into England, after a few feeble efforts, and immediately diſbanded his forces; though Robert Bruce had, before this time, emerged from his obſcurity, and was become ſufficiently formidable to make more vigorous meaſures neceſſary. A. D. 1307.

THE next ſtep taken by Edward was no leſs weak and imprudent. He recalled Piers Gavaſton, a youthful favourite, whom the late king had baniſhed the realm, on account of his aſcendency over this prince, and whom on his death-bed he made him promiſe never more

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more to entertain. Gavaſton was the ſon of a Gaſcon knight of ſome diſtinction, and by his ſhining accompliſhments had early inſinuated himſelf into the affections of young Edward, whoſe heart was eaſily caught by appearances, and ſtrongly diſpoſed to friendſhip and confidence. He was endowed with the utmoſt elegance of ſhape and perſon, was noted for a fine mien and eaſy carriage, diſtinguiſhed himſelf in all warlike and genteel exerciſes, and was celebrated for thoſe quick ſallies of wit in which his countrymen uſually excel. Little wonder that ſuch a perſon was thought neceſſary to a gay monarch, whoſe foibles he was able to flatter; but a wiſe king will have no public favourite, and ſtill leſs a foreign one. Edward experienced this danger.

GAVASTON no ſooner arrived at court, than he was loaded with benefits, and exalted to the higheſt honours. The king beſtowed upon him the earldom of Cornwal, which had eſcheated to the crown, by the death of Edmond, ſon of Richard king of the Romans: he married him to his own niece; and ſeemed to enjoy no pleaſure in his royalty, but as it ſerved to add luſtre to this object of his fond idolatry. The haughty barons, already juſtly diſſatisfied with Edward's conduct in regard to Scotland, were enraged at the ſuperiority of a minion whom they deſpiſed; and took no care to conceal their animoſity. In the meantime Gavaſton, inſtead of diſarming envy by the moderation and modeſty of his behaviour, diſplayed his power and influence with the utmoſt oſtentation. Every day multiplied his enemies; and nothing was wanting but time to cement their union, and render it fatal both to him and his maſter.

A.D 1308. THIS union was at length effected by Thomas earl of Lancaſter, couſin-germain to the king, and firſt prince

prince of the blood. He put himſelf at the head of that party among the barons who deſired the depreſſion of this inſolent ſtranger. The confederated nobles bound themſelves by oath to expel Gavaſton: they took arms for that purpoſe; and Edward was obliged to baniſh him. But he was afterwards recalled; reinſtated in his former conſequence; and became more than ever the object of general deteſtation among the nobility, on account of his oſtentation and inſolence. A new confedracy was formed againſt him: he was again baniſhed; and again recalled by the fond deluded monarch. An univerſal revolt took place: Edward and his favourite were hunted from corner to corner; and Gavaſton at laſt fell by the hands of the public executioner [a]. A.D. 1312.

AFTER the death of Gavaſton, the king's perſon became leſs obnoxious to the people. The diſcontents of all men ſeemed to be much appeaſed: the animoſities of faction no longer prevailed: and England, it was hoped, would now be able to take vengeance on all its enemies; particularly on the Scots, whoſe progreſs was become the object of general reſentment and indignation.

SOON after Edward's retreat from Scotland, Robert Bruce made himſelf maſter of the whole kingdom, except a few fortreſſes. He daily reconciled the minds of the nobility to his dominion; he enliſted under his ſtandard every bold ſpirit; and he enriched his followers with the ſpoils of the enemy. Sir James Douglaſs, in whom commenced the greatneſs and renown of that warlike family, ſeconded Robert in all his enterpriſes. Edward Bruce, the king's brother, alſo diſtinguiſhed himſelf by his valour; and the dread of the Engliſh power being now abated by the feeble conduct of Edward, even the leaſt ſanguine of the Scots began to entertain hopes of recovering their independency. They obtained

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obtained a truce, which was of ſhort duration, and ill obſerved on both ſides. But ſhort as it was, it ſerved to conſolidate the power of the king, and introduce order into the civil government. War was renewed with greater fury than ever. Not content with defending himſelf, Robert made ſucceſsful inroads into England; ſubſiſted his needy followers by the plunder of the country, and taught them to deſpiſe the military genius of a people, who had long been the object of their terror.

EDWARD, at length rouſed from his lethargy, had marched an army into Scotland; and Robert, determined not to riſk too much againſt a ſuperior force, had again retired into his mountains. The Engliſh monarch advanced beyond Edinburgh; but being diſtitute of proviſions, and ill ſupported by his nobility, he was obliged to return home, without gaining any advantage over the enemy. The ſeeming union, however, of all parties in England, after the death of Gavaſton, opened again the proſpect of reducing Scotland, and promiſed a happy concluſion to a war in which both the intereſts and the paſſions of the nation were ſo deeply engaged.

EDWARD aſſembled forces from all quarters, with a view of finiſhing at one blow this important enterpriſe. He ſummoned the moſt warlike of his vaſſals from Gaſcony; he inliſted troops from Flanders, and other foreign countries; he invited over great numbers of the diſorderly Iriſh, as to a certain prey; he joined to them a body of Welch, who were actuated by like motives; he collected the whole military force of England, and
A.D. 1314. entered Scotland at the head of an army of near one hundred thouſand men. The Scottiſh army did not exceed thirty thouſand combatants; but being compoſed of men who had diſtinguiſhed themſelves by many

many acts of valour, who were rendered desperate by their situation, and who were inured to all the varieties of fortune, they might justly under such a leader as Bruce, be esteemed equal to a vastly more numerous body. Robert, however, left as little as possible to the gallantry of his troops. He posted himself at Bannockburn, about two miles from Stirling; the only fortress in Scotland that remained in the hands of the English, and which was on the point of surrendering: he had a hill on his right flank, and a moras on his left; and in this situation he waited the approach of Edward.

The English army arrived in sight on the evening of June 14, and a smart combat immediately ensued between two bodies of cavalry. Robert, who was at the head of the Scots, engaged in single combat with Henry de Bohun, a gentleman of the family of Hereford, and at one stroke cleft his antagonist to the chin with a battle-axe, in sight of the two armies. The English horse fled with precipitation to their main body, and night prevented any farther hostilities. Meanwhile the Scots, encouraged by this favourable event, and glorying in the prowess of their prince, prognosticated a happy issue to the contest on the ensuing day; and the English, confident in their numbers, and elated by past successes, longed for an opportunity of revenge. The darkness, tho' but of a few hours, was borne with impatience: and Edward, as soon as light appeared, drew up his forces, and advanced towards the Scots. Both armies engaged with great ardour: the dispute was fierce and bloody: Sir James Douglas had broken the English cavalry, but their line of infantry was still firm, when a stratagem decided the fortune of the field. Bruce had collected a number of waggoners and sumpter boys, and furnished them with standards. They appeared on the heights towards the left. The English mistook them for a fresh army coming to surround them:

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them: a panic ſeized them; they threw down their arms, and fled. The Scots purſued with great ſlaughter, as far as Berwick; and beſides an ineſtimable booty, took many perſons of quality priſoners, and above four hundred gentlemen, whom Robert treated with great humanity, and whoſe ranſom was a new acceſſion of wealth to the victorious army. Edward himſelf narrowly eſcaped, by taking ſhelter in Dunbar; whence he paſſed by ſea to Berwick [2].

A.D. 1314.

Such was the great and deciſive battle of Bannockburn, which ſecured the independency of Scotland, fixed Bruce on the throne of that kingdom, and may be deemed the moſt ſignal overthrow that the Engliſh monarchy has received ſince the conqueſt. The number of ſlain is not certainly known; but it muſt have been very great: for the impreſſion of this defeat on the minds of the Engliſh was ſo ſtrong, that no ſuperiority of force could encourage them to keep the field againſt the Scots for ſome years.

In order to avail himſelf of his preſent ſucceſs, Robert entered England; ravaged all the northern counties without oppoſition; and elated by his continued proſperity, now entertained hopes of making the moſt important conqueſts on the Engliſh. He ſent over his brother Edward with an army of ſix thouſand men into Ireland: he himſelf ſoon after followed with a more numerous body of troops: but a grievous famine, which at that time deſolated both Britain and Ireland, reduced the Scottiſh army to the greateſt extremity; and Robert was obliged to return, with his forces much diminiſhed, into his own country. His brother, who had aſſumed the title of king of Ireland, after experiencing a variety of fortunes, was defeated and ſlain by the Engliſh near Dundalk; and Robert became ſenſible

A.D. 1315.

ſenſible that he had attempted projects too extenſive for the force of his kingdom.

EDWARD, beſides the diſaſters which he ſuffered from the invaſion of the Scots, and the oppoſition formed againſt his government in Ireland, was infeſted with a rebellion in Wales; and the factions of his nobility troubled him yet more than all theſe. They took advantage of the public calamities to inſult his fallen fortunes, and endeavoured to eſtabliſh their own independency on the ruins of the throne. The king's unhappy ſituation obliged him to comply with all their demands. The miniſtry was new modelled by the direction of Lancaſter, and that prince was placed at the head of the council. Edward himſelf was evidently by nature unfit to hold the reins of government: he was ſenſible of his own defects, and ſought to be governed; yet every favourite (for ſuch they were rather than miniſters) whom he ſucceſſively choſe, was regarded as a fellow ſubject exalted above his rank and ſtation, and became the object of envy to the great nobility. The king's chief favourite, after the death of Gavaſton, was Hugh le Deſpenſer, or Spenſer, a young man of Engliſh birth, and of a noble family. He poſſeſſed all the exterior accompliſhments of perſon and addreſs which were fitted to engage the weak mind of Edward; but was deſtitute of that moderation and prudence, which might have qualified him to mitigate the envy of the great, and conduct himſelf through all the perils of that dangerous ſtation to which he was advanced.

No ſooner was Edward's attachment declared for young Spenſer, than the turbulent Lancaſter, and moſt of the great barons, regarded him as their rival, made him the object of their animoſity, and formed violent plans for his ruin. They withdrew themſelves from

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parliament, betook themſelves to arms, and demanded the baniſhment of the favourite and his father. These noblemen were then abſent; the father abroad, the ſon at ſea; and both of them employed in different commiſſions: the king therefore replied, that his coronation oath, by which he was bound to obſerve the laws, reſtrained him from giving his aſſent to ſo illegal a demand, or condemning noblemen who were accuſed of no crime, nor had any opportunity afforded them of giving anſwer. Equity and reaſon were but a feeble barrier againſt men who had arms in their hands, and who being already involved in guilt, ſaw no ſafety but in ſucceſs and victory. They entered London with their troops; and giving into the parliament, which was then ſitting, a charge againſt the Spenſers, (of which they did not attempt to prove one article) they procured, by menaces and violence, a ſentence of perpetual exile againſt theſe miniſters [3].

A.D. 1321.

THIS act of violence, in which the king was obliged to acquieſce, rendered his perſon and authority ſo contemptible, that every one thought himſelf entitled to treat the royal family with neglect. The queen was publickly inſulted; but as that princeſs was generally beloved, Edward was permitted to take vengeance on the offender. Having now ſome forces on foot, and having concerted meaſures with his friends throughout England, he ventured to take off the maſk; to attack all his enemies, and to recall the two Spenſers, whoſe ſentence he declared illegal, unjuſt, and contrary to the tenor of the Great Charter [4].

THE king had now got the ſtart of the barons; an advantage which in thoſe times was generally deciſive. It proved ſo in the preſent inſtance. Lancaſter alone made reſiſtance: he was taken priſoner, condemned by a court-martial, and led to execution. About twenty more

A.D. 1322.

more of the moſt notorious offenders, were afterwards condemned by a legal trial, and executed. Many were thrown into priſon: ſome made their eſcape beyond ſea: and moſt of the forfeitures were ſeized by young Spenſer, whoſe rapacity was inſatiable. The barons of the king's party were diſguſted with this partial diviſion of the ſpoils; the envy againſt the favourite roſe higher than ever; the people, who always hated him, made him ſtill more the object of averſion; all the relations of the attainted barons vowed revenge: and though tranquility was in appearance reſtored to the kingdom, the general contempt of the king, and odium of Spenſer, engendered future revolutions and convulſions.

In ſuch a ſituation no ſucceſs could be expected from foreign wars; and Edward, after making one more fruitleſs attempt againſt Scotland, whence he retreated with diſhonour, found it neceſſary to terminate hoſtilities with that kingdom by a truce of thirteen years. This truce was ſo much the more ſeaſonable for England, as the nation was at that time threatened with hoſtilities from France. Charles the Fair had ſome grounds of complaint againſt the Engliſh miniſters in Guienne, and ſeemed deſirous to take advantage of Edward's weakneſs, to confiſcate all his foreign dominions.

After an embaſſy by the earl of Kent, the king's brother, had been tried in vain, queen Iſabella obtained permiſſion to go over to Paris, and endeavour to adjuſt matters with her brother. She there found a great number of Engliſh fugitives, the remains of the Lancaſtrian faction, and their common hatred of Spenſer, ſoon begot a ſecret friendſhip and correſpondence between them and that princeſs, who envied the favourite his influence with the king. Among theſe A.D. 1324.

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refugees was young Roger Mortimer, a potent baron in the Welch Marches, who had been condemned for high treaſon, but had made his eſcape from the Tower. His conſequence introduced him to queen Iſabella, and the graces of his perſon and addreſs advanced him quickly in her affections: he became her confidant and counſellor in all her meaſures; and gaining ground daily upon her heart, he engaged her to ſacrifice at laſt to her paſſion, all the ſentiments of honour and fidelity to her huſband. Hating now the man ſhe had injured, and whom ſhe never loved, ſhe entered ardently into all Mortimer's conſpiracies; and having artfully got into her hands the young prince, and heir of the monarchy, ſhe reſolved on the utter ruin of the king, as well as of his favourite. She engaged her brother to take part in the ſame criminal purpoſe: her court was daily filled with exiled barons: Mortimer lived in the moſt declared intimacy with her; and a correſpondence was ſecretly carried on with the malcontent party in England [5].

WHEN Edward was informed of theſe alarming circumſtances, he required the queen ſpeedily to return
A.D. 1325. with the prince; but Iſabella publickly replied, that ſhe would never ſet foot in the kingdom, till Spenſer was for ever removed from his preſence and counſels. This declaration procured her great popularity in England, and threw a decent veil over all her treaſonable enterpriſes. She no ſooner arrived with her ſon in England, than the king was entirely deſerted. He fled to Wales. The elder Spenſer, now earl of Winchester, and governor of the caſtle of Briſtol, was delivered by the garriſon into the hands of his enemies; and, being
A.D. 1326. inſtantly condemned, without any trial, witneſs, or accuſation, to ſuffer death, he was hanged on a gibbet in his armour. His unhappy, but more criminal ſon, ſoon after ſhared the ſame fate: and the king, diſappointed

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in his expectations of ſuccour from the Welch, was ſeized among their mountains, where he had endeavoured to conceal himſelf, and confined in Kenilworth caſtle. Meanwhile the queen, taking advantage of the prevailing deluſion, ſummoned in Edward's name a parliament at Weſtminſter; where he was accuſed of incapacity for government, and by the authority of her partizans depoſed. The prince, a youth of fourteen years of age, was placed on the throne, and the queen was appointed regent during his minority [6]. A.D. 1327.

THE great body of a people are ſeldom long in the wrong, with regard to any political meaſure. Corrupted as they were by the licentiouſneſs of the times, and inflamed by faction, they could not, in the preſent inſtance, remain inſenſible to the voice of nature. A wife had firſt diſhonoured, next invaded, and then dethroned her huſband: ſhe had made her infant ſon an inſtrument in this unnatural treatment of his father; and had, by lying pretences, ſeduced the nation into rebellion againſt their ſovereign, whoſe weakneſs was his only crime. All theſe circumſtances were ſo odious in themſelves, and formed ſuch a complicated ſcene of guilt, that the leaſt reflection ſufficed to open men's eyes, and make them deteſt ſo flagrant an infringement of every public and private duty.

THE earl of Leiceſter, now earl of Lancaſter, to whoſe cuſtody the dethroned monarch had been committed, was ſoon touched with ſentiments of compaſſion and generoſity; and beſides uſing his priſoner with gentleneſs and humanity, he was ſuſpected to have entertained more honourable intentions in his favour. The king was therefore taken from his hands, and delivered over to Lord Berkeley, Mautravers, and Gournay, who were entruſted alternately, each for a month, with the charge of guarding him. While in the cuſ-

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A.D. 1327.

tody of Berkeley, he was ſtill treated with the gentleneſs due to his rank and misfortunes; but when the turn of Mautravers and Gournay came, every ſpecies of indignity was practiſed againſt him, as if their intention had been to break entirely the unhappy prince's ſpirit, and to employ his ſorrows and afflictions, inſtead of more violent and more dangerous means, as the inſtruments of his murder. But this method of laying Edward in his grave appearing ſtill too ſlow to the impatient Mortimer, he ſecretly ſent orders to the two keepers, who were at his devotion, to diſpatch their ſovereign; and theſe ruffians contrived to make the manner of his death as cruel as poſſible. Taking advantage of Berkeley's ſickneſs, in whoſe cuſtody he then was, but who was incapacitated from attending his charge, they came to Berkeley-caſtle, and put themſelves in poſſeſſion of the king's perſon. They threw him on a bed; held him down violently with a table, which they flung over him; and thruſt into his fundament a horn, through which they burnt his bowels with a red-hot iron: but though the outward marks of violence were prevented by this expedient, the atrocious deed was diſcovered to all the guards and attendants by the ſcreams of the agonizing king[7].

THUS periſhed the unfortunate Edward II. It is not eaſy for imagination to figure a man more innocent and inoffenſive, or a prince leſs fitted for governing a fierce and turbulent people. The vigour and capacity of the ſon made ample amends for his father's weakneſs: but a variety of objects muſt occupy your attention, before we conſider that illuſtrious reign.

LETTER

LETTER XXXV.

The GERMAN EMPIRE *and its Dependencies*, ROME, *and the* ITALIAN STATES, *from the Election of* RODULPH *of* HAPSBURGH, *to the Death of* HENRY VII.

THE German empire, my dear Philip, as I have already had occaſion to obſerve, could not properly be ſaid to have a head, from the death of Frederic II. till the election of Rodulph of Hapſburg. This great captain, who had ſome time exerciſed the office of grand marſhal to Ottocarus king of Bohemia, and was raiſed to the imperial dignity on account of his military talents, no ſooner found himſelf in poſſeſſion of the auguſt throne, than he employed his authority in ſuppreſſing the diſorders which had prevailed during the interregnum; and he ſucceeded ſo well in his endeavours, that, in a ſhort time, peace and ſecurity were generally re-eſtabliſhed in Germany. He deſtroyed in Thuringia ſixty caſtles, which were the retreat of banditti, and ordered ninety-nine highwaymen to be hanged at one time in the city of Erfurt [1]. LETTER XXXV. A. D. 1273.

HAVING thus in ſome meaſure ſettled the interior police of the empire, Rodulph aſſembled a diet at Mentz, where he granted new privileges to Goſlar and other cities, and confirmed thoſe which had been granted by his predeceſſors. Here alſo the deliberations of the aſſembly turned upon the conduct of certain princes, who had proteſted againſt the election of Philip. Among theſe was Ottocarus, king of Bohemia, againſt whom the diet had other cauſes of diſſatisfac- A. D. 1275.

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tion. He had ſeized upon the duchy of Auſtria, after the death of Frederic, the laſt duke; and the ſtates complained of the oppreſſions which they ſuffered under this uſurper, from whom they begged to be delivered.

A SECOND diet was ſummoned on this ſubject at Augſburg; where Ottocarus not appearing, or doing homage by his ambaſſadors, was declared a rebel to the empire, and his poſſeſſion of Auſtria, Stiria, Carniola, and Carinthia, was adjudged illegal: and the emperor was deſired to diveſt him of thoſe territories.

WHEN this ſentence was notified to Ottocarus, he arrogantly exclaimed, "To whom ſhould I do homage?—I owe Rodulph nothing: he was formerly "my ſervant; and I paid him his wages. My poſ-"ſeſſions I will maintain with the point of my "ſword."

IN conſequence of this reſolution, Ottocarus aſſociated himſelf with ſeveral other German princes, and among the reſt with the duke of Bavaria: but they were all at laſt obliged to ſubmit; and the proud Ottocarus himſelf, not only reſigned the conteſted territories, but did homage for Bohemia and Moravia.

A.D. 1276.

THIS homage was performed in the iſland of Camberg, in the Danube, under a pavilion cloſely covered, in order to ſpare Ottocarus a public humiliation. He repaired to the place all covered with gold and jewels. Rodulph, by a ſuperior pride, received him in the moſt coarſe and ſimple dreſs; and in the midſt of the ceremony, either by accident or deſign, the curtains of the pravilion fell back, and expoſed to the eyes of the people, and the armies that lined the banks of the river, the haughty king on his knees, with his hands joined

joined between thoſe of his conqueror, whom he had ſo often called his ſteward, and to whom he now became cup-bearer. LETTER XXXV.

THE wife of Ottocarus, a Ruſſian princeſs, and not leſs haughty than her huſband, was ſo much hurt by this mortifying circumſtance, that ſhe induced him to renounce the treaty which he had concluded with Rodulph, and again have recourſe to arms for the recovery of Auſtria. The emperor immediately marched againſt him; and a battle enſued, in which Ottocarus was ſlain[2]. A.D. 1277.

RODULPH now diſcovered himſelf to be no leſs a politician than a warrior. He gave the government of Auſtria and its appendages to his eldeſt ſon, count Albert; whom he afterwards, in a diet at Augſburg, publickly inveſted with that duchy, which was incorporated with the college of the princes; hence the riſe of the houſe of Auſtria: and he at the ſame time inveſted Rodulph, another of his ſons, with the county of Suabia, which belonged to him in the right of his wife. He alſo wiſely reſolved to adhere to the articles of the treaty with Ottocarus; and accordingly put his infant ſon Winceſlaus under the tutelage of the marquis of Brandenburgh[3]. A.D. 1282.

BUT though Rodulph's authority was now fully eſtabliſhed in Germany, he was far from being maſter in Italy. The imperial crown had indeed been confirmed to him by Gregory X. on his ceding to the Holy See the lands of the counteſs Matilda, and all the territories mentioned in the grants made to the church by former emperors. In ſo doing, Rodulph properly yielded nothing but the right of receiving homage from noblemen, who never did it without reluctance, and cities which it was not in his power to command.

Venice,

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Venice, Genoa, and Piſa, had a greater number of ſhips, than the emperor could muſter of enſigns. Florence was become conſiderable, and already the nurſe of the liberal arts.

RODULPH ſpent the latter part of his reign in eſtabliſhing the grandeur of his family in Auſtria. He granted privileges to the clergy; beſtowed new dignities upon the noblemen; diminiſhed the taxes; built and repaired public edifices; and behaved with ſo much generoſity and moderation, as won the hearts of all men. But notwithſtanding his popularity, he could not procure his ſon Albert, duke of Auſtria, to be elected king of the Romans; which diſappointment, together with the death of his ſon Rodulph, ſo much
A.D. 1291. chagrined him, that he died ſoon after. He was a prince of great valour, ſagacity, and probity; and raiſed the empire from a ſtate of miſery and confuſion, to the enjoyment of peace, policy, and riches [4].

AFTER an interregnum of nine months, which was productive of many diſorders, the German princes
A. D. 1292. raiſed to the imperial throne Adolphus of Naſſau, on the ſame principle which had made them chuſe his predeceſſor: he ſeemed capable of maintaining the glory of the empire at the head of its armies, without being able to enſlave it.

THE reign of this prince was one continued ſcene of troubles, and at laſt terminated in his depoſition. His neceſſities had made him guilty of ſeveral acts of injuſtice; which Albert duke of Auſtria, diſſatisfied at not ſucceeding to the imperial throne, took care to repreſent in the worſt light. A confederacy was formed
A.D. 1297. againſt Adolphus; and he was depoſed by the archbiſhop of Mentz, in the name of the princes of the empire.

"SIX

"SIX years ago," ſaid the archbiſhop, "the em-
"pire being vacant, we canonically elected Adolphus
"count of Naſſau king of the Romans, knowing at
"that time no perſon more worthy of the dignity.
"At firſt he conducted himſelf wiſely, following the
"counſels of the moſt prudent electors and princes of
"his court; but he began by degrees to deſpiſe
"their advice, and liſten to the counſels of young
"perſons, without either ſenſe or experience: then he
"found himſelf deſtitute of means and friends to aſſiſt
"him ſincerely in bearing the burden of government.
"The electors perceiving his indigence, and ſwayed
"by twenty other motives, have demanded the pope's
"conſent to depoſe him, and chuſe another emperor.
"We are told, that our envoys have obtained the con-
"ſent of his holineſs; tho' thoſe of Adolphus affirm
"the contrary: but we having no regard to any au-
"thority but that which is veſted in ourſelves, and
"finding Adolphus incapable of governing the empire,
"do depoſe him from the imperial dignity, and elect
"Albert, duke of Auſtria, king of the Romans[5]."

ADOLPHUS, appriſed of this election, raiſed the ſiege of Ruffach, in Alſace, and marched towards Spire, where he encamped. He was reinforced by the count Palintine Rodulph, Otho duke of Bavaria, and the cities of Spire and Worms, which never deſerted his cauſe. Albert advanced towards him, in order to diſpute the imperial crown, by arms: they engaged between Gelnheim and the cloiſter of Roſendal; and the battle was maintained with much obſtinacy on both ſides. In the heat of action, Adolphus, ſingling out his rival, attacked him hand to hand, exclaiming, "Here you ſhall reſign to me the empire and your "life!"—"Both," replied Albert, "are in the hands "of God;" and immediately ſtruck the emperor with

ſuch

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A.D. 1297.

ſuch violence in the face, that he fell from his horſe, and was inſtantly ſlain[6].

DURING the reign of Adolphus, and alſo of his predeceſſor Rodulph, the Jews were perſecuted in the empire with great cruelty, on a ſuppoſition that they had ſlain ſeveral Chriſtian children, and committed other crimes, which attracted the hatred of the public. They were ſaid to have ſtolen a conſecrated hoſt: and the credulous people were ſo much incenſed at this pretended ſacrilege, that the inhabitants of Nuremberg, Rottemberg, Amberg, and ſeveral other towns of Franconia and Bavaria, ſeized all the unhappy Iſraelites that fell in their way, committed them to the flames, and drove the reſt to ſuch deſpair, that numbers burnt themſelves and their families, rather then fall into the hands of the mercileſs Chriſtians. Nor was this unhappy people treated with more indulgence in Holland and Frieſland, their preſent aſylum, at that time provinces of the empire[7].

THOUGH Albert had been elected king of the Romans before his victory over Adolphus, and conſequently became emperor on the death of that prince, he choſe to have his title confirmed by a new diet; which was accordingly aſſembled for that purpoſe at

A.D. 1298. Frankfort, the elector of Triers and the Palatine, not having formerly given their votes: and he was afterwards ſolemnly crowned at Aix-la-Chapelle. The concourſe of people, on that occaſion, was ſo great, that his brother, the duke of Saxony, and ſeveral other perſons, were ſqueezed to death in the crowd[8].

THE firſt years of this prince's reign were diſquieted by a quarrel with the pope and the eccleſiaſtical electors. Boniface VIII. the laſt pontiff who pretended to diſpoſe of crowns, and who carried the pretenſions

tenſions of the apoſtolic ſee as high as any of his predeceſſors, took part with the three German archbiſhops, who had refuſed to anſwer the emperor's ſummons. They were at length, however, obliged to ſubmit; and Boniface confirmed the election of Albert, when he wanted to make him the inſtrument of his vengeance againſt Philip king of France. But the emperor did not obtain this confirmation, it is ſaid, till he had declared, that "the empire was transferred by the holy ſee, from the Greeks to the Germans; that the ſovereign pontiff had granted to certain eccleſiaſtical and ſecular princes the right of electing a king of the Romans, deſtined to the empire; and that emperors and kings derive their regal power from the pope [9]." A.D. 1303.

THE moſt remarkable event in this reign is the riſe of the republic of Swiſſerland. Fortified by their natural ſituation, ſurrounded with mountains, torrents, and woods, the Swiſs having nothing to fear from ſtrangers, had lived happily in a rugged country, ſuitable only to thoſe who have been accuſtomed to a frugal and laborious courſe of life. Equality of condition was the baſis of their government: they had been free from time immemorial; and when any of their nobility attempted to tyrannize, they were either altogether expelled, or reduced within bounds by the people. But though the Swiſs were extremely jealous of their liberty, they were always ſubmiſſive to the empire, of which they held; and many of their towns were free and imperial.

WHEN Rodulph of Hapſburg was elected emperor, ſeveral lords of caſtles formally accuſed the cantons of Ury, Schweitz, and Underwald, of having withdrawn themſelves from their feudal ſubjection. But Rodulph, who had formerly fought againſt thoſe

petty

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petty tyrants, decided in favour of the citizens; and henceforth theſe three cantons were under the patronage, but not the dominion of the houſe of Auſtria.

RODULPH always treated the Swiſs with great indulgence, and generouſly defended their rights and privileges againſt the noblemen who attempted to infringe them. Albert's conduct, in theſe reſpects, was juſt the reverſe of his father's: he wanted to govern the Swiſs as an abſolute ſovereign; and had formed a ſcheme for erecting their country into a principality for one of his ſons. In order to effectuate this purpoſe, he endeavoured to perſuade the cantons of Ury, Schwitz, and Underwald, to ſubmit voluntarily to his dominion, in which caſe he promiſed to rule them with great lenity; but finding them tenacious of their independency, and deaf to all his ſolicitations, he reſolved to tame them by rougher methods, and appointed governors, who domineered over them in the moſt arbitrary manner.

THE tyranny of theſe governors exceeded all belief. Geiſler, governor of Ury, ordered his hat to be fixed upon a pole in the market-place of Altorff; and every paſſenger was commanded, on pain of death, to pay obeiſance to it. But the independent ſpirit of William Tell, who among others had projected the deliverance of his country, diſdained to pay this abſurd homage, on which the governor ordered him to be hanged; but remitted the puniſhment, on condition that he ſhould ſtrike an apple from his ſon's head with an arrow. Tell, who was an excellent markſman, accepted the alternative, and had the good fortune to ſtrike off the apple without hurting his ſon. But Geiſler perceiving a ſecond arrow under William's coat, inquired for what purpoſe it was intended: "It was deſigned for "thee," replied the indignant Swiſs, "if I had "killed

"killed my ſon." And for this heroic anſwer he was doomed to perpetual impriſonment, tho' fortune happily put it out of the governor's power to put his ſentence in execuion.

THIS and other acts of wanton tyranny determined Arnauld Melchtat, a native of Underwald, Werner Strauffacher, of Schiwtz, and Walter Furtz, of Ury, to put in execution thoſe meaſures which they had concerted for delivering themſelves and their country from the Auſtrian dominion. Naturally bold and enterpriſing, and united by a long intimacy of friendſhip, they had frequently met in private to deliberate upon this intereſting ſubject: each aſſociated three others; and theſe twelve men accompliſhed their important enterpriſe, without the loſs of a ſingle life. A.D. 1308. Having prepared the inhabitants of their ſeveral cantons for a revolt, they ſurpriſed the Auſtrian governors, and conducted them to the frontiers, obliging them to promiſe upon oath never more to ſerve againſt the Helvetian nation, after which they diſmiſſed them [10]; an inſtance of moderation, not perhaps to be equalled in the hiſtory of mankind, of a people incenſed againſt their oppreſſors, and who had them in their power!

THUS, my dear Philip, theſe three cantons, Ury, Schwitz, and Underwald, delivered themſelves from the Auſtrian yoke, and eſtabliſhed that liberty which they ſtill enjoy. The other cantons ſoon engaged in this confederacy, which gave birth to the republic of Swiſſerland. Never did any people fight longer and harder for their liberty than the Swiſs: they have purchaſed it, as we ſhall have occaſion to ſee, by above ſixty battles againſt the Auſtrians; and it is probable they will preſerve it for a long time, at leaſt it is to be wiſhed they may, for never were the effects of liberty more remarkable than in Swiſſerland: the change of government ſeems to have produced a change

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change in the face of the country. The rude ſoil, which lay neglected under cruel and tyrannical maſters, now appears cultivated: the craggy rocks are covered with vines: and the wild heath, tilled by the hands of freedom, is become a fruitful plain.

WHEN Albert was on the eve of venturing his forces againſt that courage which is inſpired by the enthuſiaſm of new-born liberty, he fell a ſacrifice to his rapacity and injuſtice. His own nephew John, who could not obtain from him the enjoyment of his patrimony, reſolved to make ſure of revenge. This injured youth,
A.D. 1308. confederated with three others, ſtabbed the emperor in preſence of his court and army, on the banks of the river Prus, in the neighbourhood of Swiſſerland [11]. No ſovereign was ever leſs regretted, tho' few have died more tragically. He did not want valour, or abilities; but a deſire of aggrandizing his family influenced his whole conduct, and made him violate every public and private tie.

THE imperial throne continued vacant ſeven months, from the aſſaſſination of Albert. At length the electors aſſembled at Frankfort, and choſe Henry count of Luxembourg; who was crowned, without
A.D. 1309. oppoſition, at Aix la-Chapelle. A diet was ſoon after held at Spire; where ſentence of death was pronounced againſt prince John for the murder of his uncle, the late emperor; whoſe ſons, at the ſame time, demanded the inveſtiture of Auſtria, and the other hereditary dominions of their father, which Henry intended to ſeize. They obtained their demand, on making him ſenſible, that as Auſtria had already ſent two emperors out of the world, (the pretence for Henry's claim) it might yet prove fatal to a third, if he did not deſiſt from his unjuſt pretenſions [12].

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At this aſſembly alſo appeared Elizabeth, daughter and heireſs of Winceſlaus king of Bohemia. She had been contracted to John count of Luxemburg, ſon of the preſent emperor, Henry VII. and now king of Bohemia. But the marriage had been delayed, from time to time, under different pretences; the princeſs therefore demanded, that the contract might be fulfilled, or cauſe ſhewn why the nuptials ſhould not be ſolemnized: and underſtanding, that a report had been ſpread to the diſadvantage of her chaſtity, ſhe repaired to the emperor's anti-chamber, undreſſed herſelf to the ſhift, in preſence of the ladies there aſſembled, and approaching Henry in that condition, requeſted that ſhe might be immediately examined by matrons. She was accordingly committed to the inſpection of ſome experienced ladies and midwives, who unanimouſly declared her an unſpotted virgin; and, in conſequence of their teſtimony, the nuptials were ſolemnized with great magnificence, in preſence of the electors, and other princes and noblemen of the diet [13].

This is a point on which our modern phyſicians would have had many conſultations. They pretend that the ſigns of virginity are altogether precarious, tho' every old woman affirms them infallible: and fortunately the daughter of Winceſlaus was judged by old woman; for ſo ſcrupulous were the bridegrooms of thoſe days on the article of chaſtity, that the ſlighteſt ſuſpicion in regard to it was ſufficient to obſtruct the marriage, or ruin the happineſs of a couple for life.

The emperors, from the time of Frederic II. ſeemed to have loſt ſight of Italy. But Henry VII. as ſoon as he had ſettled the affairs of the North, reſolved to re-eſtabliſh the imperial authority in that country.

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A. D. 1310.

For this purpoſe a diet was held at Frankfort; where proper ſupplies being granted for the emperor's journey, well known by the name of the Roman expedition, he ſet out for Italy, accompanied by the dukes of Auſtria and Bavaria, the archbiſhop of Triers, the biſhop of Liege, the counts of Savoy and Flanders, and other noblemen, together with the militia of all the imperial towns.

ITALY was ſtill divided by the factions of the Guelphs and Ghibelines, who butchered one another without humanity or remorſe. But their conteſt was no longer the ſame: it was not now a ſtruggle between the empire and the prieſthood, but between faction and faction, inflamed by mutual jealouſies and animoſities. Pope Clement V. had been obliged to leave Rome, which was in the anarchy of popular government. The Colonnas, the Urſini, and the Roman barons divided the city: and this diviſion was the cauſe of the long abode of the popes in France, as we ſhall have occaſion to ſee in the hiſtory of that kingdom; ſo that Rome ſeemed equally loſt to the popes and the emperors. Sicily was in the poſſeſſion of the houſe of Arragon, in conſequence of the famous maſſacre called the Sicilian Veſpers, which delivered that iſland from the tyranny of the French, as ſhall be afterwards more fully related. Carobert, king of Hungary, diſputed the kingdom of Naples with his uncle Robert, ſon of Charles II. of the houſe of Anjou. The houſe of Eſte had eſtabliſhed itſelf at Ferrara; and the Venetians wanted to make themſelves maſters of that country. The old league of the Italian cities no longer ſubſiſted. It had been formed with no other view, than to oppoſe the emperors; and ſince they had neglected Italy, the cities were wholly employed in aggrandizing themſelves, at the expence of each other. The Florentines and the Genoeſe made war upon the republic

republic of Piſa. Every city was alſo divided into factions within itſelf; Florence between the Blacks and the Whites, and Milan between the Viſconti and the Turriani. LETTER XXXV.

In the midſt of theſe troubles Henry VII. appeared in Italy; and cauſed himſelf to be crowned king of Lombardy, at Milan. But the Guelphs had concealed the old iron crown of the Lombard kings, as if the right of reigning were attached to a ſmall circlet of metal. Henry ordered a new crown to be made, with which the ceremony of inauguration was performed [14]. A.D. 1311.

Cremona was the firſt place that ventured to oppoſe the emperor. He reduced it by force, and laid it under heavy contributions. Parma, Vicenza, and Placentia, made peace with him on reaſonable conditions. Padua paid an hundred thouſand crowns, and received an imperial officer as governor. The Venetians preſented Henry with a large ſum of money, an imperial crown of gold enriched with diamonds, and a vermilion chain of very curious workmanſhip. Breſcia made a deſperate reſiſtance, and ſuſtained a very ſevere ſiege; in the courſe of which the emperor's brother was ſlain, and his army diminiſhed to ſuch a degree, that the inhabitants marched out, under the command of their prefect, Thibault de Druſſati, and gave him battle. But they were repulſed with great loſs, after an obſtinate engagement, and at laſt obliged to ſubmit. Their city was diſmantled.

From Breſcia Henry marched to Genoa, where he was received with expreſſions of joy, and ſplendidly entertained. He next proceeded to Rome; where after much bloodſhed, he received the imperial crown from the hands of the cardinals. Clement V. who had originally invited Henry into Italy, growing jealous of his ſucceſs, had leagued with Robert king of

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Naples, and the Urſini faction, to oppoſe his enterance into Rome. He entered it in ſpite of them, by the aſſiſtance of the Colonnas [15].

Now maſter of that ancient city, Henry appointed it a governor; and ordered, that all the cities and ſtates of Italy ſhould pay him an annual tribute. In this order he comprehended the kingdom of Naples, to which he was going to make good his claim of ſuperi-
A. D. 1313. ority by arms, when he died at Benevento, as is commonly ſuppoſed, of poiſon given him by a Dominican friar, in the conſecrated wine of the ſacrament [16].

DURING the laſt years of the reign of Henry VII, who, as you muſt have obſerved, was a valiant and politic prince, the knights of the Teutonic order aggrandized themſelves, and made conqueſts upon the Idolaters and Chriſtians of the North. They poſſeſſed themſelves of Samogitia, after butchering all the inhabitants who refuſed to embrace Chriſtianity: they alſo took Dantzick; and they purchaſed Pruſſia of a marquis of Brandenburg, to whom it then belonged. But while the order was making theſe acquiſitions in Europe, it loſt all its poſſeſſions in Aſia [17].

THE affairs of France now claim your attention,

LETTER XXXVI.

FRANCE, *from the Death of* ST. LEWIS, *till the Acceſſion of the Houſe of* VALOIS.

YOU have already, my dear Philip, ſeen the pious St. Lewis periſh on the coaſt of Africa, in a ſecond expedition againſt the Infidels. The moſt remarkable circumſtance in the reign of his ſon and ſucceſſor Philip the Hardy, a prince of ſome merit, but much inferior to his father, is the intereſt that he took in the affairs of his uncle Charles of Anjou, king of Naples and Sicily; which naturally leads us to an account of the famous Sicilian Veſpers, and of the war between France and Arragon. LETTER XXXVI. A.D. 1270.

CHARLES, by the ſeverity of his government, had not only rendered himſelf, but his family odious to the Sicilians; and the inſolence and debauchery of the French troops had excited an irreconcilable averſion to the whole nation. At the ſame time, the boundleſs ambition of this prince, who was actually preparing to attack the Greek emperor, Michael Paleologus, and was ſuſpected to have an eye alſo to the German empire, raiſed a general jealouſy of him among his neighbours. Of that number was pope Nicholas III. who particularly dreaded Charles's power; and if he is not ſlandered by the French hiſtorians, contrived the ſcheme of his humiliation, tho' it did not take effect till after the death of his holineſs. It was conducted by one John di Prodica, a Sicilian nobleman, who ſecretly prepared the minds of his countrymen for a revolt: and an accident gave it birth.

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A.D. 1282.

On the evening of Eaſter-day, as the French and Sicilians were going in proceſſion to the church of Monreale, in the neighbourhood of Palermo, a bride happened to paſs by with her train; when one Droguet, a Frenchman, inſtantly ran to her, and began to uſe her in a rude manner, under pretence of ſearching for concealed arms. A young Sicilian, flaming with reſentment, ſtabbed Droguet to the heart: a tumult enſued; and two hundred Frenchmen were ſlain on the ſpot. The enraged populace next ran to the city, crying aloud, "Let the French die! let the "French die!"—and without any diſtinction of age or ſex, murdered every perſon of that nation found in Palermo. The ſame fury ſpread itſelf through the whole iſland, and produced a general maſſacre. The fury of the conſpirators was ſo great, that they did not even ſpare their own relations, but ript up women with child by Frenchmen, and daſhed the half formed infants againſt the walls; while the prieſts, catching the general frenzy, butchered all their French penitents[r].

Peter, king of Arragon, who had married the daughter of Mainfroy, the former uſurper of Sicily, ſupported the Sicilians in their rebellion, and openly claimed the kingdom in right of his wife. The Sicilians received him with open arms: he was crowned at Palermo; and Charles was obliged to abandon the iſland, after having beſieged Meſſina for ſix weeks in vain. He had now no hopes but from France, where the nobility in general were well affected to him, and readily offered to furniſh troops for his ſupport. In this diſpoſition they were encouraged by king Philip. Martin IV. who had ſucceeded Nicholas in the ſee of Rome, was alſo entirely in the intereſt of Charles, who might probably have recovered

covered Sicily, had he not imprudently agreed to decide the diſpute with Peter by ſingle combat. LETTER XXXVI.

THE king of Arragon, who had the duel very little at heart, was by that means enabled to amuſe his rival, and fix his own family on the throne of Sicily, which became a ſeparate kingdom from Naples. In the meantime the pope excommunicated Peter, and gave his dominions to any of the younger ſons of France that the king ſhould chuſe to name. Philip, flattered by this propoſal, declared his ſon Charles of Valois king of Arragon and Valentia, and count of Barcelona: he put himſelf at the head of a numerous army, in order to realize theſe honours; and he furniſhed at the ſame time his uncle Charles of Anjou with a fleet and army for the recovery of Sicily. Splendid projects! which proved the ruin of both.

CHARLES had left his ſon of the ſame name at Naples, with ſtrict orders to riſk nothing, till his arrival with the ſuccours from France. But that young prince, provoked by the Arragoneſe fleet, ſailed out with the force under his command, and was defeated, and taken priſoner, before his father's return; a circumſtance which ſo much affected the king, that he is ſaid to have ſtrangled himſelf with a halter [2], a death ſufficiently mild for ſuch a tyrant. A.D. 1284.

MEANWHILE the French army, under the command of Philip, had penetrated into Catalonia, and laid ſiege to Gironne, which made a gallant defence. The king of Arragon being in the neighbourhood with a ſmall army, attacked a convoy going to the French camp, and received a mortal wound. Gironne ſurrendered: and Philip having put a good garriſon into it, diſmiſſed part of his fleet, which had been principally hired from the Italian ſtates. Roger di

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Loria, the Arragoneſe admiral, who durſt not attack the French fleet when whole, burnt and deſtroyed it when divided, ſeizing all the money and proviſions intended for the ſupport of the army; and theſe loſſes ſunk ſo deeply into the mind of Philip, that he ſecretly repaſſed the Pyrenees, and died a few days after at Perpignan [3].

A.D. 1285.

PHILIP the Hardy was the firſt French monarch who granted Letters of Nobility, which he beſtowed on Ralph the Goldſmith. In ſo doing, he only reſtored the ancient conſtitution of the Franks; who being all of one blood, were eſteemed equally noble, and alike capable of the higheſt offices. The notion of a particular and diſtinct nobleſſe, took its riſe towards the cloſe of the ſecond race, when many of the officers of the crown had uſurped, and converted into an hereditary dignity, the offices and juriſdictions which they received from royal favour [4].

THE reign of Philip IV. ſurnamed the Fair, the ſon and ſucceſſor of Philip the Hardy, forms an era in the hiſtory of France, by the civil and political regulations to which it gave birth; the inſtitution of the ſupreme tribunals, called parliaments; and the admiſſion of the commons, or third eſtate, into the general aſſemblies of the nation. How the French common came afterwards to be excluded from theſe aſſemblies, we ſhall have occaſion to ſee in the courſe of this hiſtory.

THE firſt care of Philip was to compoſe all differences with his neighbours, as he found his finances exhauſted: and this he was enabled to effect by the mediation of Edward I. of England, againſt whom he afterwards ungenerouſly commenced hoſtilities, while that monarch was engaged in a war with Scotland.

Philip

Philip alſo attempted, at the expence of much blood and treaſure, to ſeize the county of Flanders, which had leagued with England. But as theſe wars were neither diſtinguiſhed by any remarkable event, nor followed by any conſequence that altered the ſtate of either country, I ſhall proceed to the tranſactions between Philip and the ſee of Rome, and the extinction of the order of Knights Templars.

POPE BONIFACE the VIII. of whoſe arrogance I have already had occaſion to ſpeak, prohibited the clergy in general, from granting any aids or ſubſidies to princes without his leave. Philip, who was no leſs haughty than his holineſs, and very needy, thought the clergy, as being the richeſt order of the ſtate, ought to contribute to the wants of the crown, when the ſituation of affairs made it neceſſary, and without any application to Rome: he therefore encountered the Pope's bull by an edict, forbidding any of the French clergy to ſend money abroad without the royal permiſſion. This was the firſt cauſe of the famous quarrel between Boniface and Philip; and the inſolence of a biſhop of Pamiers threw things into a ſtill greater ferment.

THIS man, named Bernard Sayſeti, who had rebelled againſt the king in his dioceſe, was nominated by Boniface legate to the French court. An obnoxious ſubject thus inveſted with a dignity, which, according to the ſee of Rome, made him equal to the ſovereign himſelf, came to Paris, and braved Philip, threatening his kingdom with an interdict. A layman, who had behaved in ſuch a manner, would have been puniſhed with death: but the perſon of a churchman was ſacred; and Philip was ſatisfied with delivering this incendiary into the hands of his metropolitan, the arch-

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archbiſhop of Narbonne, not daring to treat him as a criminal.

POPE BONIFACE enraged at the confinement of his legate, iſſued a bull, declaring, "that the "vicar of Chriſt is veſted with full authority over "the kings and kingdoms of the earth:" and the clergy of France received, at the ſame time, an order from his holineſs to repair to Rome. A French archdeacon carried this bull, and theſe orders, to the king; commanding him, under pain of excommunication, to acknowledge the pope as his temporal ſovereign. This inſolence was anſwered with a moderation little ſuited to the character of Philip: he contented himſelf with ordering the pope's bull to be thrown into the fire, and prohibiting the biſhops from departing the kingdom. Forty of them, however, with many of the heads of religious orders, went to Rome, notwithſtanding the king's prohibition; for which treſpaſs he ſeized all their temporalities.

WHILE Boniface and his council were conſidering the conduct of Philip, and by means of his confeſſor brought his moſt ſecret thoughts under review, that politic prince aſſembled the ſtates of his kingdom; who acknowledged his independent right to the ſovereignty of France, and diſavowed the pope's claim. It was on this occaſion, that the repreſentatives of cities were firſt ſummoned to the national aſſembly [s].

PHILIP was now at full liberty to treat the pope as an open enemy. Accordingly he leagued with the family of Colonna; and ſent William de Nogaret into Italy with a ſum of money, in order to raiſe troops. A body of deſperadoes were ſuddenly, and ſecretly collected; with which William and Sciarra Colonna ſurpriſed the pope at Agnani, a town in his own territories,

ries, and the place of his birth, exclaiming "Let the "pope die! and long live the king of France!" Boniface, however, did not loſe his courage: he dreſſed himſelf in his cope; put the tiara upon his head; and holding the keys in one hand, and the croſs in the other, he preſented himſelf with an air of majeſty before his conquerors. On this occaſion, it is ſaid, Sciarra had the brutality to ſtrike him, crying out, "Tyrant! re-"nounce the pontificate, which thou haſt diſhonour-"ed."—"I am pope," replied Boniface, with a look of intrepidity, "and I will die pope." This gallant behaviour had ſuch an effect on the minds of the inhabitants, that they roſe againſt his enemies, and reſcued him from their hands. But Boniface was ſo much affected by the indignities which had been offered him, that he died in a few days[6]. A.D. 1303.

On the death of Boniface, the cardinals elected Nicholas Boccacini, who took the name of Benedict XI. He was a mild and good man; and being deſirous of uſing his power for the promoting of peace, he revoked the ſentence of excommunication, which his predeceſſor had fulminated againſt Philip. He alſo pardoned the Colonnas; and ſhewed a great diſpoſition to reform that corruption, which had ſpread itſelf through the dominions of the church. But theſe proceedings, ſo meritorious in themſelves, excited the hatred of his licentious and vindictive countrymen, who ſuddenly took him off by poiſon. He was ſucceeded by Clement V. who being a Frenchman, and entirely in the intereſt of Philip, fixed his reſidence in France. By means of this pope the French monarch hoped to have obtained the empire for his brother, Charles of Valois, and actually reunited the city of Lyons to his kingdom[7].

But

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But though this was juſtly conſidered as a great acquiſition, Philip had occaſion for the aſſiſtance of Clement in an affair that lay nearer his heart. I allude to the ſuppreſſion of the order of Knights Templars. This religious and military order, which took its riſe, as has been already obſerved, during the firſt fervour of the Cruſades, had made rapid advances in credit and authority, and had acquired, from the piety of the faithful, ample poſſeſſions in every Chriſtian country, but more eſpecially in France. The great riches of theſe knights, and other concurring cauſes, had however relaxed the ſeverity of their virtues. Convinced by experience, by fatigues, and by dangers, of the folly of their fruitleſs expeditions to the Eaſt, they choſe rather to enjoy in eaſe their opulent fortunes in Europe; and being all men of birth, they ſcorned the ignoble occupations of a monaſtic life, and paſſed their time wholly in the faſhionable amuſements of hunting, gallantry, and the pleaſures of the table. By theſe means the Templars had in a great meaſure loſt that popularity, which firſt raiſed them to honour and diſtinction: tho' the immediate cauſe of their deſtruction proceeded from the cruel and vindictive ſpirit of Philip the Fair.

The ſeverity of the taxes, and the mal-adminiſtration of Philip and his council in regard to the coin, which they had repeatedly altered in its value, had occaſioned a ſedition in Paris. The Knights Templars were accuſed of being concerned in the mutiny: they were rich, as has been obſerved; and Philip was no leſs avaricious than vindictive. He determined to involve the whole order in one undiſtinguiſhed ruin: and on no better information, than that of two knights, condemned by their ſuperiors to perpetual impriſonment for their vices, he ordered all the Templars in France
A.D. 1309 to be committed to priſon, on one day, and imputed

to

to them ſuch enormous and abſurd crimes, as are ſufficient of themſelves to deſtroy all the credit of the accuſation. They were univerſally charged with murder, robbery, and the vices moſt ſhocking to nature; and it was pretended, that every one whom they received into their order was obliged to renounce his Saviour, to ſpit upon the croſs, and to join to this impiety the ſuperſtition of worſhiping a gilded head, which was ſecretly kept in one of their houſes at Marſeilles. The novice was alſo ſaid to be initiated by many infamous rites, which could ſerve no other purpoſe but to degrade the order in his eyes: and, as Voltaire very juſtly obſerves, it ſhews a very indifferent knowledge of mankind to ſuppoſe there can be any ſocieties that ſupport themſelves by the badneſs of their morals, or who make a law to enforce the practice of impudence and obſcenity. Every ſociety endeavours to render itſelf reſpectable to thoſe who are deſirous of becoming members of it.

ABSURD, however, as theſe accuſations appear, above one hundred knights were put to the rack, in order to extort from them a confeſſion of their guilt. The more obſtinate periſhed in the hands of their tormentors. Several, in the violence of their agonies, acknowledged whatever was deſired of them. Forged confeſſions were imputed to others: and Philip, as if their guilt had now been certain, proceeded to a confiſcation of all their treaſures. But no ſooner were theſe unhappy men relieved from their tortures, than they diſavowed their confeſſions; exclaimed againſt the forgeries; juſtified the innocence of their order; and appealed to all the gallant actions performed by them, as a full apology for their conduct.

ENRAGED at this diſappointment, and thinking himſelf bound in honour to proceed to extremities, Philip ordered fifty-four Templars, whom he branded

as

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as relapſed heretics, to periſh by the puniſhment of fire in his capital. Great numbers expired after a like manner in different parts of the kingdom: and when the tyrant found, that the perſeverance of thoſe unhappy victims, in juſtifying to the laſt their innocence, had made deep impreſſion on the minds of the people, he endeavoured to overcome the conſtancy of the Templars by new inhumanities. John de Molay, the grand maſter of the order, and another great officer, brother to the ſovereign of Dauphiny, were conducted to a ſcaffold, erected before the church of Notre-dame at Paris. A full pardon was offered them, on one hand; the fire deſtined for their execution was ſhewn them, on the other: but theſe gallant nobles perſiſted in the proteſtation of their own innocence and that of their order; and, as the reward of their fortitude, they were inſtantly hurried into the flames by the public executioner[8].

In all this barbarous injuſtice, Clement V. who then reſided at Poitiers, fully concurred; and by the
A. D. 1312. plenitude of his apoſtolic power, in a general council held at Vienne, without examining a ſingle witneſs, or making any inquiry into the truth of facts, he aboliſhed the whole order. The Templars all over Europe were thrown into priſon; their conduct underwent a ſtrict ſcrutiny; and the power of their enemies ſtill purſued and oppreſſed them: but no where, except in France, were the ſmalleſt traces of their guilt pretended to be found. Some countries ſent ample teſtimony of their piety and morals; but as the order was now annihilated, their lands in France, Italy, England, and Germany, were given to the Knights Hoſpitallers: in Spain they were given to the Knights of Calatrava, an order eſtabliſhed to combat the Moors[9].

PHILIP

PHILIP, ſoon after the ſuppreſſion of this order, revived his quarrel with Flanders; which he again unſucceſsfully attempted to unite to the crown of France. The failure of this project, together with ſome domeſtic misfortunes, threw him into a languiſhing conſumption, which carried him off in the thirtieth year of his reign, and the forty-ſeventh of his age. He was certainly a prince of great talents; and, notwithſtanding his vices, France ought to reverence his memory. By fixing the parliaments, or ſupreme courts of judicature, he ſecured the execution of juſtice to all his ſubjects; and, though his motive might not be the moſt generous for calling in the third eſtate into the national council, he by that means put it in the power of the French to have eſtabliſhed a free government. A.D. 1314.

LEWIS X. ſurnamed Hutin, the ſon and ſucceſſor of Philip the Fair, began his reign with an act of injuſtice. At the inſtigation of his uncle, the count of Valois, he cauſed his prime miniſter Marigny to be executed, on account of many pretended crimes, and magic among the reſt; but in reality on account of his ſuppoſed riches, which were confiſcated to the crown. A.D. 1315.

BUT neither the confiſcation of Marigny's effects, nor of thoſe who were ſtiled his accomplices, being ſufficient for the king's wants, he extorted money from the nobility, under various pretences: he levied a tenth upon the clergy: he ſold enfranchiſements to the ſlaves employed in cultivating the royal domains; and when they would not purchaſe their freedom, he declared them free, whether they would or not, and levied the money by force [10]! He died, like his father, after an unſucceſsful attempt upon Flanders. A.D. 1316.

ON the death of Lewis X. a great diſpute aroſe with regard

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regard to the ſucceſſion. The king left one daughter, by a ſiſter of the duke of Burgundy, and his queen pregnant: ſhe was brought to bed of a ſon, who lived only eight days. It had long been a prevailing opinion, that the crown of France could never deſcend to a female; and as nations in accounting for principles which they regard as fundamental, and as peculiar to themſelves, are fond of grounding them on primary laws, rather than on blind cuſtom, it had been uſual to derive this maxim (though according to the beſt antiquarians falſely) from a clauſe in the Salian Code, the law of an ancient tribe among the Franks. In conſequence of this opinion, and precedents founded on it, Philip V. ſurnamed the Long, brother to Lewis X. was proclaimed king; and as the duke of Burgundy made ſome oppoſition, and aſſerted the right of his niece, the ſtates of the kingdom, by a ſolemn and deliberate decree, excluded her, and declared all females for ever incapable of ſucceeding to the crown of France [11]. The wiſdom of this decree is too evident to need being pointed out. It not only prevents all thoſe evils which neceſſarily proceed from female caprices and tender partialities, ſo apt to make a miniſter from love, and degrade him from whim, but is attended with this peculiar advantage, that a foreigner can never be ſovereign of France by marriage; a circumſtance always dangerous, and often productive of the moſt fatal revolutions.

A.D. 1316.

A.D. 1317.

THE reign of Philip the Long, and alſo of his brother Charles IV. ſurnamed the Fair, were both ſhort, and neither was diſtinguiſhed by any thing remarkable. Charles left one daughter; but as his queen was pregnant, Philip de Valois, the next male heir, was appointed regent, with a declared right of ſucceſſion, if the iſſue ſhould prove female. The queen of France was delivered of a daughter: the regency

A.D. 1322.

5 ended;

ended; and Philip de Valois was unanimouſly placed on the throne of France.

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A. D. 1328.

THIS prince was couſin-german to the deceaſed king, and inconteſtibly the neareſt heir-male deſcended from a male; but Edward III. as we ſhall ſoon have occaſion to ſee, took up the diſpute upon other grounds. But I muſt make you acquainted with the more early part of the reign of that illuſtrious monarch.

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ENGLAND, SCOTLAND, FRANCE, *and* SPAIN, *during the Reign of* EDWARD III.

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THE reign of Edward III. my dear Philip, opens a wide field of obſervation; and involves whatever is great, or intereſting in the hiſtory of Europe, during that period. But before I ſpeak of foreign tranſactions, I muſt make you acquainted with the domeſtic; and for this purpoſe, it will be neceſſary to recapitulate a little.

You have already been witneſs to the miſerable death of the ſecond Edward, by the inhuman emiſſaries of Roger Mortimer, the queen's gallant, who was become the object of public odium. The hatred of the nation daily increaſed both againſt him and queen Iſabella: and they ſubjected to their vengeance whomſoever they feared. The earl of Kent, the young king's uncle, was iniquitouſly condemned and executed; the earl of Lancaſter, Kent's brother, was thrown into priſon; and many of the prelates and nobility were proſecuted, under different pretences [1].

THESE abuſes could not long eſcape the obſervation of a prince of ſo much diſcernment as young Edward, nor fail to rouſe his active ſpirit againſt the murderer of his father, and the diſhonourer of his mother. But he was beſieged in ſuch a manner by the creatures of Mortimer, that it became neceſſary to conduct the project of bringing that felon to juſtice with as much ſecreſy and caution as if he had been forming a conſpiracy againſt his ſovereign. He communicated

municated his intentions, however, to ſome of the nobility, who readily entered into his views; and they ſurpriſed the uſurper in the caſtle of Nottingham, and dragged him from an apartment adjoining to the queen's, while ſhe, in the moſt pathetic manner, implored her ſon to ſpare the *gentle* Mortimer! A parliament was immediately ſummoned for his condemnation; and he was ſentenced to die, from the ſuppoſed notoriety of his crimes, without any form of trial. He periſhed by the hands of the hangman at the Elmes, near London: and the queen was confined, during life, to her houſe at Riſings; where ſhe languiſhed out twenty-five years of ſorrow, rather than of penitence [2]. A.D. 1330.

EDWARD having now taken the reins of government into his own hands, applied himſelf with induſtry and judgment, to redreſs all thoſe grievances, which had either proceeded from want of authority in the crown, or the late abuſes of it. He iſſued writs to the judges, enjoining them to adminiſter juſtice, without paying any regard to the arbitrary orders of the great: and as thieves, robbers, murderers, and criminals of all kinds, had multiplied to an enormous degree during the public convulſions, and were openly protected by the powerful barons, who made uſe of them againſt their enemies, the king ſet himſelf ſeriouſly to remedy the evil, after exacting from the peers a ſolemn promiſe in parliament, that they would break off all connexion with ſuch malefactors [3]. The miniſters of juſtice, animated by his example, employed the utmoſt diligence in diſcovering, purſuing, and puniſhing criminals: and the diſorder was by degrees corrected.

IN proportion as the government acquired authority at home, it became formidable to the neighbouring

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nations; and the ambitious ſpirit of Edward ſought, and ſoon found an occaſion of exerting itſelf. The wiſe and valiant Robert Bruce who had recovered by arms the independency of his country, and fixed it by treaty, was now dead, and had left David his ſon a minor, under the guardianſhip of Randolph earl of
A.D. 1332. Murray, the companion of his victories. About this time Edward Baliol, ſon of John, formerly crowned king of Scotland, was diſcovered in a French priſon by lord Beaumont, a great Engliſh baron, who in the right of his wife claimed the earldom of Buchan in Scotland; and deeming Baliol a proper inſtrument for his purpoſe, procured him his liberty, and induced him to revive his claim to the Scottiſh crown.

MANY other Engliſh noblemen, who had obtained eſtates during the ſubjection of Scotland, were in the ſame ſituation with Beaumont: they alſo ſaw the utility of Baliol, and began to think of recovering their poſſeſſions by arms; and they applied to Edward for his concurrence and aſſiſtance. Edward was aſhamed to avow their enterpriſe: he was afraid that violence and injuſtice would every where be imputed to him, if he attacked with ſuperior force a minor king, and a brother-in-law, whoſe independent title had been ſo lately acknowledged by ſolemn treaty; but he ſecretly encouraged Baliol in his claim, connived at his aſſembling forces in the North, and gave countenance to the nobles who were diſpoſed to join him. A force of near three thouſand men was aſſembled, with which Baliol and his adherents landed on the coaſt of Fife.

SCOTLAND was now in a very different ſituation from that in which it had appeared under the victorious Robert. Beſides the loſs of that great monarch, whoſe genius and authority preſerved entire the whole political fabrick, and maintained union among the

unruly

unruly barons, lord Douglas, impatient of reſt, had gone over to Spain in a cruſade againſt the Moors, and had there periſhed in battle. The earl of Murray, who had long been declining, through years and infirmities, had lately died, and was ſucceeded in the regency by Donald earl of Mar, a man of much inferior talents; ſo that the military ſpirit of the Scots, tho' ſtill unbroken, was left without a guide. Baliol had valour and activity, and his followers being firmly united by their common object, drove back the Scots who oppoſed his landing. He marched into the heart of the country; and with his ſmall party defeated an army of forty thouſand men, under the earl of Mar, of whom twelve thouſand are ſaid to have been ſlain[4].

Baliol, ſoon after this victory, made himſelf maſter of Perth, and was crowned at Scone; while young Bruce, his competitor, was ſent over to France with his betrothed wife Jane, ſiſter to king Edward. Scotland was ſubdued by a handful of men; but Baliol loſt the kingdom by a revolution as ſudden as that by which he had acquired it. His imprudence, or his neceſſities, making him diſmiſs part of his Engliſh followers, he was unexpectedly attacked near Annan by Sir Archibald Douglas, and other chieftains of Bruce's party: he was routed; his brother John Baliol was ſlain; and he himſelf was chaſed into England in a miſerable plight.

In this extremity, Baliol had again recourſe to the king of England, without whoſe aſſiſtance he was now become ſenſible, he could neither recover nor keep poſſeſſion of his throne. He offered to acknowledge Edward's ſuperiority; to renew the homage for Scotland; and to eſpouſe the princeſs Jane, if the pope's conſent could be obtained for diſſolving her former

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marriage, which was not yet conſummated. Ambitious of retrieving that important ſuperiority relinquiſhed by Mortimer during his minority, Edward willingly accepted the offer, and put himſelf at the head of a powerful army, in order to reinſtate Baliol in his throne. The Scots met him with an army more numerous, but leſs united, and worſe ſupplied with arms and proviſions: a battle was fought at Halidown-hill, a little north of Berwick; where about thirty thouſand of the Scots fell, and all the chief nobility were either killed or taken priſoners [5].

A.D. 1333.

After this fatal blow, the Scottiſh nobles had no other reſource but in ſubmiſſion. Baliol was acknowledged king by a parliament aſſembled at Edinburgh; the ſuperiority of England was again recognized [6]; many of the Scottiſh nobility ſwore fealty to Edward; who, leaving a conſiderable body with Baliol to complete the conqueſt of the kingdom, returned to England with the remainder of his army. But the Engliſh forces were no ſooner withdrawn, than the Scots revolted againſt Baliol, and returned to their former allegiance under Bruce. Edward was again obliged to aſſemble an army, and to march into Scotland. The Scots, taught by experience, withdrew into their hills and faſtneſſes. He deſtroyed the houſes, and ravaged the eſtates of thoſe whom he called rebels: but this only confirmed them more in their obſtinate antipathy to England and to Baliol; and being now rendered deſperate, they ſoon re-conquered their country from the Engliſh. Edward made anew his appearance in Scotland, and with like ſucceſs: he found every thing hoſtile in the kingdom, except the ſpot on which he was encamped; and though he marched uncontrolled over the low countries, the nation itſelf was farther than ever from being broken or ſubdued. Beſides being ſupported by their pride and anger, paſſions

A.D. 1334.

A.D. 1335.

A.D. 1336.

ſions difficult to tame, the Scots were encouraged amid all their calamities, with daily promiſes of relief from France; and as a war was now likely to break out between that kingdom and England, they had reaſon to expect a diviſion of the force which had ſo long overwhelmed and oppreſſed them.

THESE tranſactions naturally bring us back to Edward's claim to the crown of France; on which depended the moſt memorable events, not only of this long and active reign, but of the whole Engliſh and French hiſtory, during more than a century. A notion weaker or worſe grounded cannot well be imagined. He admitted the general principle, that females could not inherit the crown of France; but in ſo doing, he only ſet aſide his mother's right, to eſtabliſh his own: for though he acknowledged females incapable of inheriting, he aſſerted that males deſcending from females were liable to no ſuch objection, but might claim by right of propinquity. This plea, however, was not only more favourable to Charles king of Navarre, deſcended from a daughter of Lewis Hutin, but contrary to the eſtabliſhed rules of ſucceſſion in every country of Europe: Edward's claim was therefore diſregarded, and Philip's title univerſally recognized and acknowledged [7].

BUT though the youthful and ambitious mind of Edward had raſhly entertained this falſe idea, he did not carry his pretenſions ſo far as to engage in a war with ſo powerful a monarch as Philip. On the contrary, he went over to Amiens, and did homage for Guienne; which was indirectly acknowledging Philip's title to the crown of France [8]. His own claim indeed was ſo unreaſonable, and ſo thoroughly diſavowed by the whole French nation, that to inſiſt on it was no better than pretending to the violent conqueſt of the kingdom; and it probably would never have been fur-

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ther thought of, had it not been for ſome incidents which afterwards excited an animoſity between the two monarchs.

ROBERT of Artois, a prince of great talents and credit, who had married Philip's ſiſter, had fallen into diſgrace at the court of France. His brother-in-law not only abandoned him, but proſecuted him with violence. He came over to England, and was favourably received by Edward. Now reſigning himſelf to all the movements of rage and revenge, Robert endeavoured to revive in the mind of the Engliſh monarch his ſuppoſed title to the crown of France; and even flattered him, that it was not impoſſible for a prince of his valour and abilities to render this claim effectual: "I made Philip de Valois king of France," added he; "and with your aſſiſtance, I will depoſe him for his "ingratitude [9]."

EDWARD was the more diſpoſed to liſten to ſuch ſuggeſtions, as he had reaſon to complain of Philip's conduct with regard to Guienne, and becauſe that monarch had both given protection to the exiled David Bruce, and encouraged the Scots in their ſtruggles for independency. Reſentment gradually filled the breaſts of both monarchs, and made them incapable of hearkening to any terms of accommodation. Philip thought he ſhould be wanting to the firſt principles of policy, if he abandoned Scotland; and Edward pretended that he muſt renounce all claim to generoſity, if he withdrew his protection from Robert of Artois. Alliances were formed on both ſides, and great preparations were made for war.

ON the ſide of England was the count of Hainault, the king's father-in-law, the duke of Brabant, the archbiſhop of Cologne, the duke of Guelders, the marquis

quis of Juliers, and the count of Namur. Theſe princes could ſupply, either from their own ſtates, or from the bordering countries, great numbers of warlike troops; and nothing was wanting to make Edward's alliance on that quarter very formidable but the acceſſion of Flanders, which he obtained by means ſomewhat extraordinary.

THE Flemings, the firſt people in the north of Europe that cultivated arts and manufactures, began now to emerge from that ſtate of vaſſalage, or rather ſlavery, into which the common people had been univerſally thrown by the abuſes of the feudal policy; and the lower ranks of men among them had riſen to a degree of riches unknown elſewhere to thoſe of their ſtation in that comparatively barbarous age. It was impoſſible for ſuch men not to reſent any act of tyranny; and acts of tyranny were likely to be practiſed by a ſovereign and nobility accuſtomed to domineer. They had riſen in tumults; they had inſulted the nobles, and driven their earl into France [19].

IN every ſuch revolution there is always ſome leader to whoſe guidance the people blindly deliver themſelves, and on his character entirely depends the happineſs or miſery of thoſe who have put themſelves under his care; for every ſuch man has it in his power to be a deſpot. So narrow are the boundaries between liberty and ſlavery!—The preſent leader of the Flemings was Jacob Van Ardvelt, a brewer of Ghent, who governed them with a more abſolute ſway than had ever been aſſumed by any of their lawful ſovereigns. He placed and diſplaced the magiſtrates at pleaſure: he was accompanied by a guard; who, on the leaſt ſignal from him, inſtantly aſſaſſinated any man that happened to fall under his diſpleaſure: all the cities of Flanders were full of his ſpies; and it was immediate death to give

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give him the ſmalleſt umbrage. This was the man to whom Edward addreſſed himſelf for bringing over the Flemings to his intereſts [11].

PROUD of advances from ſo great a prince, and ſenſible that the Flemings were naturally inclined to maintain connections with the Engliſh on account of the advantages of trade, Jacob readily embraced the cauſe of Edward, and invited him over to the Low
A D. 1338. Countries. Edward repaired to Flanders, attended by ſeveral of his nobility, and a body of Engliſh forces; but before the Flemings, who were vaſſals of France, would take up arms againſt their liege lord, Edward was obliged to aſſume the title of king of France, and to challenge their aſſiſtance for dethroning Philip de Valois, the uſurper of his kingdom [12]. This ſtep, which was taken by the advice of Van Ardvelt, as he knew it would produce an irreconcilable breach between the two monarchs, (a further motive for his joining the cauſe of Edward) gave riſe to that animoſity which the Engliſh and French nations, but more eſpecially the former, have ever ſince borne againſt each other; which had, for ſome centuries, ſo viſible an influence on all their tranſactions, and ſtill continues to inflame the heart of many an honeſt Engliſhman.—Let philoſophers blame this prejudice as inconſiſtent with the liberality of the human mind; let moraliſts mourn its ſeverity, and weak politicians lament its deſtructive rage: you, my dear Philip, as a lover of your country, will ever, I hope, revere a paſſion, which has ſo often given victory to the arms of England, and humbled her haughty rival; which has preſerved, and continues to preſerve the independency of Britain!

THE French monarch made great preparations againſt the attack from the Engliſh; and his foreign

5 alliances

alliances were both more natural and powerful than thoſe which were formed by his antagoniſt. The king of Navarre, the duke of Britanny, the count of Bar, were entirely in the intereſts of Philip; and on the ſide of Germany, the king of Bohemia, the palatine, the dukes of Lorraine and Auſtria, the biſhop of Liege, the counts of Deuxpont, Vaudemont, and Geneva. A mighty army was brought into the field on both ſides. A. D. 1339. Conferences and mutual defiances, however, were all that the firſt campaign produced; and Edward, diſtreſſed for want of money, was obliged to diſband his army, and return to England [83].

But this illuſtrious prince had too much ſpirit to be diſcouraged by the firſt difficulties of an undertaking; he was anxious to retrieve his honour by more ſucceſsful and more gallant enterpriſes: and next ſeaſon proved ſomewhat more fortunate. A.D. 1340. The Engliſh, under the command of Edward, gained an important advantage over the French by ſea. Two hundred and thirty French ſhips were taken: thirty thouſand Frenchmen were killed, with two of their admirals. The luſtre of this victory increaſed the king's reputation among his allies, who aſſembled their forces with expedition, and joined the Engliſh army; and Edward marched to the frontiers of France at the head of above one hundred thouſand men. The French monarch had collected an army ſtill more numerous; yet he continued to adhere to the prudent reſolution he had formed, of putting nothing to hazard, hoping by that means to weary out the enemy. This conduct had in ſome meaſure the deſired effect. Edward, fatigued with fruitleſs ſieges, and irritated at the diſagreeable proſpect that lay before him, challenged Philip to decide their claims to the crown of France by ſingle combat, by an action of a hundred againſt a hundred, or by a general engagement. Philip replied with his uſual coolneſs,

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coolneſs, that it did not become a vaſſal to challenge his liege lord; and Edward found it neceſſary to conclude a truce for one year [4].

THIS truce would in all likelihood have been converted into a ſolid peace, and Edward would have dropped his claim, had not an unexpected circumſtance opened to him more promiſing views, and given his enterpriſing genius a full opportunity of diſplaying itſelf. The count of Mountfort, the heir male of Britanny, had ſeized that duchy in oppoſition to Charles of Blois, the French king's nephew, who had married the daughter of the late duke. Senſible that he could expect no favour from Philip, Mountfort made
A.D. 1341. a voyage to England, on pretence of ſoliciting his claim to the earldom of Richmond, which had devolved to him by his brother's death; and then offering to do homage to Edward, as king of France, for the duchy of Britanny, he propoſed a ſtrict alliance for the ſupport of each other's pretenſions.

LITTLE negociation was neceſſary to conclude a treaty between two princes connected by their immediate intereſts. But the captivity of the count of Mountfort, which happened ſoon after, ſeemed to put an end to all the advantages naturally to be expected from ſuch an alliance. The affairs of Britanny, however, were unexpectedly retrieved by Jane of Flanders, counteſs of Mountfort, the moſt extraordinary woman of her age. Rouſed by the captivity of her huſband from thoſe domeſtic cares to which ſhe had hitherto
A.D. 1342. confined herſelf, ſhe boldly undertook to ſupport the falling fortunes of her family. She went from place to place, encouraging the garriſons, providing them with every thing neceſſary for ſubſiſtence, and concerting the proper plans of defence; and, after having put the whole province in a good poſture, ſhe ſhut

herſelf up in Hennebonne, where ſhe waited with impatience the arrival of thoſe ſuccours, which Edward had promiſed her. LETTER XXXVII.

CHARLES of Blois, anxious to make himſelf maſter of this important fortreſs, and ſtill more to get poſſeſſion of the perſon of the counteſs, ſat down before the place with a great army, and conducted the attack with indefatigable induſtry. The defence was no leſs vigorous. The beſiegers were repulſed in every aſſault. Frequent ſallies were made by the garriſon; and the counteſs herſelf being the moſt forward on all occaſions, every one was aſhamed not to exert himſelf to the utmoſt. The reiterated attacks of the beſiegers, however, had at length made ſeveral breaches in the walls; and it was apprehended that a general aſſault, which was every hour dreaded, might overcome the garriſon. It became neceſſary to treat of a capitulation; and the biſhop of Laon was already engaged in a conference on that ſubject with Charles of Blois, when the counteſs, who had mounted a high tower, and was looking towards the ſea with great impatience, deſcried ſome ſails at a diſtance. "Behold "the ſuccours!" exclaimed ſhe;—"the Engliſh ſuc-"cours!—No capitulation." They conſiſted of ſix thouſand archers, and ſome cavalry, under the command of Sir Walter Manny, one of the braveſt captains of England; and having inſpired freſh courage into the garriſon, it immediately ſallied forth, beat the beſiegers from their poſts, and obliged them to decamp[15].

NOTWITHSTANDING this ſucceſs, the troops under Sir Walter Manny were found inſufficient for the ſupport of the counteſs of Mountfort, who was ſtill ready to be overpowered by numbers: Edward therefore ſent over a reinforcement under Robert of Artois, and

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and afterwards went to her aſſiſtance in perſon. Robert was killed in the defence of Vannes; and Edward concluded a truce of three years, on honourable terms, for himſelf and the counteſs.

A.D. 1343.

THIS truce, however, was of much ſhorter duration, than the term ſpecified in the articles; and each monarch endeavoured to throw on the other the blame of its infraction. The Engliſh parliament entered warmly into the quarrel, adviſed the king not to be amuſed by a fraudulent truce, and granted him ſupplies for the renewal of hoſtilities. The earl of Derby was ſent over for the protection of Guienne, where he behaved with great gallantry; and Edward invaded Normandy, with an army of thirty thouſand men. He took ſeveral towns, and ravaged the whole province, carrying his excurſions even to the gates of Paris. At length Philip advanced againſt him at the head of an hundred thouſand men; and Edward, afraid of being ſurrounded in the enemy's country, retreated towards Flanders [16].

A.D. 1344.

A.D. 1345.

A.D. 1346.

IN this retreat happened the famous paſſage of the Somme, which was followed by the ſtill more celebrated battle of Crecy.—When Edward approached the Somme, he found all the bridges either broken down, or ſtrongly guarded: an army of twenty thouſand men, under the command of Godamar de Faye, was ſtationed on the oppoſite banks; and Philip was advancing on him from the other quarter. In this extremity he was informed of a place that was fordable: he haſtened thither, but ſaw de Faye ready to obſtruct his paſſage. A man of leſs reſolution, or more coolneſs, would have heſitated: Edward deliberated not a moment, but threw himſelf into the river ſword in hand, at the head of his troops, drove the enemy from their ſtation, and purſued them to a diſ-

a diſtance on the plain. Philip and his forces arrived at the ford, when the rear guard of the Engliſh army was paſſing; and the riſing of the tide only prevented that incenſed monarch from following them. On the lapſe of ſo few moments depended the fate of Edward !—and theſe, by his celerity, were turned from ruin into victory: yet if he had been unfortunate in his paſſage, and if the French army had been ſomewhat ſooner in arriving, how many pretended philoſophers would have told us that he was a hot-brained fool, and the attempt would have been conſidered as abſurd !—So much, my dear Philip, does the reputation of events depend on ſucceſs, and the characters of men on the ſituations in which they are engaged.

EDWARD by this fortunate paſſage gained ſome ground of the enemy, as Philip was obliged to take his road by the bridge of Abbeville; but he ſtill ſaw the danger of precipitating his march over the plains of Picardy, and of expoſing his rear to the inſults of the numerous cavalry, in which the French camp abounded. He therefore embraced the prudent reſolution of waiting the arrival of the enemy, and choſe his ground advantageouſly near the village of Crecy; where he drew up his army in excellent order, and divided it into three lines. The firſt line was commanded by the prince of Wales, commonly called the Black Prince, from the colour of his armour; the ſecond by the earls of Arundel and Northampton; and the king himſelf took the direction of the third, which was intended as an auxiliary force. The French army, which now conſiſted of above an hundred and twenty thouſand men, was alſo formed into three lines; but as Philip had made a haſty and confuſed march from Abbeville, the troops were fatigued and diſordered. The firſt line, conſiſting of fifteen thouſand Genoeſe croſs-bow men, was commanded by Anthony Doria and

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A.D. 1346.

and Charles Grimaldi: the ſecond was led by the count of Alençon; and the king in perſon was at the head of the third. The battle began about three o'clock, Aug. 26, and continued till evening; when the whole French army took to flight, and was followed and put to the ſword with great ſlaughter, till the darkneſs of night put an end to the purſuit. Almoſt forty thouſand of the French were ſlain; in which number were many of the principal nobility, twelve hundred knights, and fourteen hundred gentlemen. On his return to the camp, Edward flew into the arms of the prince of Wales, who had diſtinguiſhed himſelf in a remarkable manner. "My brave ſon!" cried he, "perſevere in your honourable courſe. You are my "ſon! for valiantly have you acquitted yourſelf to-"day. You have ſhewn yourſelf worthy of empire [17]."

THIS victory is partly aſcribed to ſome pieces of artillery, which Edward is ſaid to have placed in his front, and which gave much alarm to the enemy [18]; but we cannot ſuppoſe they did great execution. The invention was yet in its infancy; and cannons were at firſt ſo clumſy, and of ſuch difficult management, that they were rather incumbrances, than thoſe terrible inſtruments of deſolation which we now behold them. They had never before been made uſe of on any remarkable occaſion in Europe. This may therefore be conſidered as the era of one of the moſt remarkable diſcoveries that has been made among men: a diſcovery which changed by degrees the whole military ſcience, and of courſe many circumſtances in the political government of Europe; which has brought nations more on a level; has made ſucceſs in war a matter of calculation; and though ſeemingly contrived for the deſtruction of mankind, and the overthrow of empire, has in the iſſue rendered battles leſs bloody. and conqueſts leſs frequent, by giving greater ſecurity

ſecurity to ſtates, and intereſting the paſſions of men leſs in the ſtruggle for victory. LETTER XXXVII. A.D. 1346.

A WEAK mind is elated by the ſmalleſt ſucceſs: a great ſpirit is little affected by any turn of fortune. Edward, inſtead of expecting, that the victory of Creſſy would be immediately followed by the total ſubjection of the diſputed kingdom, ſeemed rather to moderate his views: he prudently limited his ambition to the conqueſt of Calais; by which he hoped to ſecure ſuch an eaſy entrance into France, as might afterwards open the way to more conſiderable advantages. He therefore marched thither with his victorious army, and preſented himſelf before the place.

IN the meantime David Bruce, king of Scotland, whom his countrymen had recalled, was ſtrongly ſolicited by his ally Philip, to invade the northern counties of England. He accordingly aſſembled a great army, and carried his ravages as far as Durham; where he was met by queen Philippa, at the head of twelve Oct. 17. thouſand men, which ſhe committed to the command of lord Piercy. A fierce engagement enſued: the Scots were broken, and chaſed off the field with great ſlaughter. Fifteen thouſand of them were ſlain, among which number were the chancellor and earl marſhal: the king himſelf was taken priſoner, together with many of the principal nobility [19].

As ſoon as Philippa had ſecured her royal priſoner, ſhe croſſed the ſea at Dover, and was received in the Engliſh camp before Calais with all the eclat due to her rank, her merit, and her ſucceſs. This was the age of chivalry and gallantry: Edward's courtiers excelled in theſe accompliſhments, not leſs than in policy and war; and the extraordinary qualities of the women of thoſe times, the neceſſary conſequence

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of reſpectful admiration, form the beſt apology for the ſuperſtitious devotion which was then paid to the ſofter ſex. Calais was taken, after an obſtinate ſiege of almoſt twelvemonths: the inhabitants were expelled; it was peopled anew with Engliſh, and made the ſtaple of wool, leather, tin, and lead; the four chief commodities of England, and the only ones for which there was then any demand in foreign markets. A truce was ſoon afterwards concluded with France, by the mediation of the pope's legates; and Edward returned in triumph to England [20].

A.D. 1347.

A.D. 1348.

A few obſervations are here neceſſary. The great ſucceſs of Edward in his foreign wars had excited a ſtrong emulation among the Engliſh nobility; and their animoſity againſt France, and reſpect to their prince, had given a new and more uſeful direction to that ambition, which had ſo often been turned by thoſe turbulent barons againſt the crown, or which diſcharged its fury on their fellow-ſubjects. That he might further promote this prevailing ſpirit, Edward inſtituted the military order of the Garter, in imitation of ſome orders of knighthood of a like nature, which had been eſtabliſhed in different parts of Europe. A ſtory prevails, tho' not ſupported by ancient authority, that Edward's miſtreſs, commonly ſuppoſed to be the counteſs of Saliſbury, dropped her garter at a court ball; that the king ſtooped, and took it up, when he obſerved ſome of his courtiers to ſmile, as if they had ſuſpected ſome other intention. He therefore held up the trophy, and called out, *Honi ſoit qui mal y penſe:* "Evil to him that "evil thinks!"—and as every incident of gallantry in thoſe times was magnified into a matter of importance, he inſtituted the Order of the Garter, in commemoration of this event, and gave theſe words as the motto of the order. Frivolous as ſuch an origin may ſeem, it is perfectly ſuitable to the manners of that

that age; and, as a profound hiſtorian remarks, it is difficult by any other means to account either for the ſeemingly unmeaning terms of the motto, or the peculiar badge of the garter, which appears to have no reference to any purpoſe either of military uſe or ornament [22].

A DAMP, however, was ſuddenly thrown over the triumphant feſtivity of the Engliſh court by a deſtructive peſtilence, which about this time invaded Britain, after having deſolated the greateſt part of the earth. It made its appearance firſt in the north of Aſia; encircled all that vaſt continent; viſited Africa; made its progreſs from one end of Europe to the other; and is computed to have ſwept away near a third of the inhabitants in every country through which it paſſed. Above fifty thouſand ſouls are ſaid to have periſhed by it in London alone. This grievous calamity, more than the pacific diſpoſition of the princes, ſerved to prolong the truce between England and France. A.D. 1348.

DURING this truce Philip de Valois died, without being able to re-eſtabliſh the affairs of France, which his unſucceſsful wars with England had thrown into much diſorder. This monarch, during the firſt years of his reign, had obtained the appellation of *fortunate*, and acquired the character of *prudent*: but he ill maintained either the one or the other; leſs indeed from his own fault, than becauſe he was overmatched by the ſuperior fortune and ſuperior genius of Edward. But the incidents in the reign of his ſon John, gave the French cauſe to lament even the calamitous times of Philip. John was diſtinguiſhed by many virtues, particularly a ſcrupulous honour and fidelity. He was not deficient in perſonal courage; but as he wanted that maſterly prudence and foreſight, which his difficult ſituation required, his kingdom was A.D. 1350.

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at the ſame time diſturbed by inteſtine commotions, and oppreſſed by foreign wars.

THE principal author of theſe calamities was Charles king of Navarre, ſurnamed the Bad, and whoſe conduct fully entitled him to that appellation. He was deſcended from males of the blood royal of France; his mother was daughter of Lewis Hutin, and he had himſelf married a daughter of king John: but all theſe ties, which ought to have connected him with the throne, gave him only greater power to ſhake and overthrow it. He ſecretly entered into a correſpondence with the king of England; and he ſeduced, by his addreſs, Charles, afterwards ſurnamed the Wiſe, the king of France's eldeſt ſon, and the firſt who bore the title of Dauphin, by the reunion of the province of Dauphiny to the crown. This young prince, however, made ſenſible of the danger and folly of ſuch connections, promiſed to make atonement for the offence by the ſacrifice of his aſſociates. In concert with his father, he accordingly invited the king
A.D. 1355. of Navarre, and other noblemen of the party, to a feaſt at Rouen, where they were betrayed into the hands of John. Some of the moſt obnoxious were immediately led to execution, and the king of Navarre was thrown into priſon. But this ſtroke of ſeverity in the king, and of treachery in the Dauphin, was far from proving deciſive in maintaining the royal authority. Philip of Navarre, brother to Charles the Bad, and Geoffrey d'Harcourt, put all the towns and caſtles belonging to that prince in a poſture of defence; and they had immediate recourſe to England in this deſperate extremity [22].

THE truce between the two kingdoms, which had always been ill obſerved on both ſides, was now expired; ſo that Edward was at liberty to ſupport the French malcontents. The war was again renewed; and after a variety of fortunes, but chiefly in favour of

of the Engliſh, an event happened which nearly proved fatal to the French monarchy. LETTER XXXVII.

A.D. 1356.

THE prince of Wales, encouraged by the ſucceſs of the firſt campaign, took the field with an army of only twelve thouſand men; and with this ſmall body he ventured to penetrate into the heart of France. King John, provoked at the inſult offered him by this incurſion, collected an army of ſixty thouſand men, and advanced by haſty marches to intercept his enemy. The prince, not aware of John's near approach, loſt ſome days on his retreat, before the caſtle of Remorantin; and thereby gave the French an opportunity of overtaking him. They came within ſight at Maupertuis, near Poictiers; and young Edward, ſenſible that his retreat was now become impracticable, prepared for battle with all the courage of a hero, and all the prudence of an experienced general. No degree of prudence or courage, however, could have ſaved him, had the king of France known how to make uſe of his preſent advantages. John's ſuperiority in numbers enabled him to ſurround the Engliſh camp, and by intercepting all proviſions, to reduce the prince to the neceſſity of ſurrendering at diſcretion; but the impatient ardour of the French nobility prevented this idea from ſtriking any of the commanders, ſo that they immediately took meaſures for the aſſault, with full aſſurance of victory. But they found themſelves miſtaken: the Engliſh received them with deſperate valour, put their army to flight, and took their king priſoner. Sept. 19.

THE Black Prince, who had been carried away in purſuit of the flying enemy, finding the field entirely clear on his return, had ordered a tent to be pitched, and was repoſing himſelf after the toils of battle, when informed of the fate of the French monarch. John had long refuſed to ſurrender himſelf to any per-

LETTER XXXVII.

ſon, but his "couſin the prince of Wales[23]." Here commences the real, and unexampled heroiſm, of young Edward—the triumph of humanity and moderation over inſolence and pride, in the heart of a young warrior, elated by as extraordinary and as unexpected ſucceſs as had ever crowned the arms of any commander. He came forth to meet the captive king with all the marks of regard and ſympathy; adminiſtered comfort to him amidſt his misfortunes; paid him the tribute of praiſe due to his valour; and aſcribed his own victory merely to the blind chance of war, or to a ſuperior Providence, which controuls all the efforts of human force and prudence. He ordered a repaſt to be prepared in his tent for the royal priſoner; and he himſelf ſerved at the captive's table, as if he had been one of his retinue. All his father's pretenſions to the crown of France were now buried in oblivion. John in captivity received the honours of a king, which were refuſed him when ſeated on the throne. His misfortunes, not his right, were reſpected: and the French priſoners, conquered by this elevation of mind, more than by the arms of the Engliſh, burſt into tears of admiration; which were only checked by the reflection, that ſuch exalted heroiſm in an enemy muſt make him doubly dangerous to the independency of their native country[24].

A.D. 1357. THE prince of Wales conducted his royal priſoner to Bourdeaux; and after concluding a truce for two years, carried him to England: where the king of France, beſides the generous treatment which he met with, had the melancholy conſolation of meeting a brother in affliction. The king of Scotland had been eleven years a captive in the hands of Edward; whoſe ſuperior genius and fortune had reduced at once the two neighbouring potentates, with whom he was engaged in war, to the condition of priſoners in his capital.

capital. Finding, however, that the conqueſt of Scotland was nowiſe advanced by the captivity of its ſovereign, Edward conſented to reſtore David Bruce to his liberty, for the ranſom of one hundred marks ſterling; and that prince delivered the ſons of all his principal nobility, as hoſtages for the payment [25]. LETTER XXXVII. A D. 1357.

MEANWHILE the captivity of the French monarch, joined to the preceding diſorders in the goverment, had produced in France an almoſt total diſſolution of civil authority, and occaſioned the moſt horrible and diſtructive violences ever experienced in any age or country. The Dauphin, now about nineteen years of age, naturally aſſumed the royal power during his father's captivity; but tho' endowed with an excellent judgment, even in ſuch early years, he poſſeſſed neither experience nor authority ſufficient to remedy the prevailing evils. In order to obtain ſupplies, he aſſembled the ſtates of the kingdom: but that aſſembly, inſtead of ſupporting his adminiſtration, were themſelves ſeized with the ſpirit of licentiouſneſs; and laid hold of the preſent opportunity to demand limitations of the prince's power, the puniſhment of paſt malverſations, and the liberty of the king of Navarre. Marcel, provoſt of the merchants of Paris, and firſt magiſtrate of that city, put himſelf at the head of the unruly populace; and from the violence and temerity of his character, puſhed them to commit the moſt criminal outrages againſt the royal authority. They detained the Dauphin in a kind of captivity: they murdered in his preſence Robert de Clermont and John de Conflans, mareſchals of France: they threatened all the other miniſters with the like fate; and when Charles, who had been obliged to temporize and diſſemble, made his eſcape from their hands, they levied war againſt him, and openly erected the ſtandard of rebellion. The other cities of the kingdom, A D. 1358.

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in imitation of the capital, ſhook off the Dauphin's authority, took the government into their own hands, and ſpread the contagion into every province. The wild ſtate of nature ſeemed to be renewed: every man was thrown looſe and independent of his fellows [26].

A.D. 1358.

AMIDST theſe diſorders the king of Navarre made his eſcape from priſon, and preſented a dangerous leader to the furious malcontents. He revived his pretenſions to the crown of France: but in all his operations he acted more like a leader of banditti, than one who aſpired to be the head of a regular government, and who was engaged by his ſtation to endeavour the re-eſtabliſhment of order in the community. All the French therefore who wiſhed to reſtore peace to their deſolated country, turned their eyes towards the Dauphin; who, though not remarkable for his military talents, daily gained, by his prudence and vigilance, the aſcendant over his enemies. Marcel, the ſeditious provoſt of Paris, was ſlain in attempting to deliver that city to the king of Navarre. The capital immediately returned to its duty: the moſt conſiderable bodies of the mutinous peaſants were diſperſed, or put to the ſword; ſome bands of military robbers underwent the ſame fate; and France began once more to aſſume the appearance of civil government [27].

EDWARD ſeemed to have a favourable opportunity of puſhing his conqueſts, during the confuſion in the Dauphin's affairs; but his hands were tied by the truce, and the ſtate of the Engliſh finances made it neceſſary. The truce, however, no ſooner expired than he invaded France anew with the whole military force of England. He ravaged the country without oppoſition; pillaged many towns, and levied contributions upon others; but finding that he could not ſubſiſt his army in a kingdom waſted by foreign and domeſtic

A.D. 1359.

domeſtic enemies, he prudently concluded the peace of Bretigni, which ſeemed to ſecure eſſential advantages to his crown. By this peace, it was ſtipulated, A.D. 1360. that John ſhould pay three millions of crowns of gold for his ranſom; that Edward ſhould for ever renounce all claim to the crown of France, and to the provinces of Normandy, Maine, Touraine, and Anjou, poſſeſſed by his anceſtors; in exchange for which he ſhould receive the provinces of Poitou, Xaintonge, l'Angenois, Perigord, the Limouſin, Quercy, Rovergue, l'Angoumois, and other diſtricts in that quarter, together with Calais, Guiſnes, Montreuil, and the county of Ponthieu, on the other ſide of France; that the full ſovereignty of theſe provinces, as well as of Guienne, ſhould be veſted in the crown of England; and that France ſhould renounce all title to feudal juriſdiction, homage, or appeal from them [28].

In conſequence of this treaty, the king of France was reſtored to his liberty; but many difficulties ariſing with reſpect to the execution of ſome of the articles, he took the honourable reſolution of coming over to England in perſon, in order to adjuſt them. His A.D. 1363. council endeavoured to diſſuade him from this deſign, which they repreſented as raſh and impolitic; and inſinuated, that he ought to elude as far as poſſible the execution of ſo diſadvantageous a treaty. "Tho' "juſtice and good faith," replied John, "were ban-"iſhed from the reſt of the earth, they ought ſtill to "retain their habitation in the breaſts of princes!" And he accordingly came over to his former lodgings in the Savoy; where he ſoon after ſickened, and A.D. 1364. died [29].

John was ſucceeded in the throne of France by his ſon, Charles V. a prince educated in the ſchool of adverſity and well qualified, by his prudence and experience,

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A.D. 1364.

rience, to repair the losses which the kingdom had sustained from the errors of his predecessors. Contrary to the practice of all the great princes of those times, who held nothing in estimation but military courage, he seems to have laid it down as a maxim never to appear at the head of his armies; and he was the first European monarch, that shewed the advantage of policy and foresight over a rash and precipitate valour.

Before Charles could think of counter-balancing so great a power as England, it was necessary for him to remedy the many disorders to which his own kingdom was exposed. He accordingly turned his arms against the king of Navarre, the great disturber of France during that age; and he defeated that prince, and reduced him to terms, by the valour and conduct of Bertrand du Guesclin, one of the most accomplished captains of those times, whom Charles had the discernment to chuse as the instrument of his victories. He also settled the affairs of Britanny, by acknowledging the title of Mountfort, and receiving homage for his dominions. But much was yet to do. On the conclusion of the peace of Bretigni, the many military adventurers who had followed the fortunes of Edward being dispersed into the several provinces, and possessed of strong holds, refused to lay down their arms, or relinquish a course of life to which they were now accustomed, and by which alone they could earn a subsistence. They associated themselves with the banditti, who were already inured to the habits of rapine and violence; and under the name of *companies* and *companions*, became a terror to all the peaceable inhabitants. Some English and Gascon gentlemen of character were not ashamed to take the command of these ruffians, whose number amounted to near forty thousand, and who bore the appearance of regular armies,

mies, rather than bands of robbers[30]. As Charles was not able by power to redreſs ſo enormous a grievance, he was led by neceſſity, and by the turn of his character, to correct it by policy; to diſcover ſome method of diſcharging into foreign countries this dangerous and inteſtine evil: and an occaſion now offered.

ALPHONSO XI. king of Caſtile, who took the city of Algezira from the Moors, after a famous ſiege of two years, during which artillery are ſaid firſt to have been uſed by the beſieged, had been ſucceeded by his ſon Peter I. ſurnamed the Cruel; a prince equally perfidious, debauched, and bloody. He began his reign with the murder of his father's miſtreſs, Leonora de Guſman: his nobles fell every day the victims of his ſeverity: he put to death his couſin, and one of his natural brothers, from groundleſs jealouſy; and he cauſed his queen Blanche de Bourbon, of the blood of France, to be thrown into priſon, and afterwards poiſoned, that he might enjoy in quiet the embraces of Mary de Padella, with whom he was violently enamoured. A.D. 1350.

HENRY, count of Traſtamara, the king's natural brother, alarmed at the fate of his family, and dreading his own, took arms againſt the tyrant; but having failed in the attempt, he fled to France, where he found the minds of men much inflamed againſt Peter, on account of the murder of the French princeſs. He aſked permiſſion of Charles to enliſt the *companies* in his ſervice, and to lead them into Caſtile againſt his brother. The French king, charmed with the project, employed du Gueſclin in negociating with the leaders of theſe banditti. The treaty was ſoon concluded: and du Gueſclin having completed his levies, led the army firſt to Avignon, where the pope then reſided, and demanded, ſword in hand, abſolution for his ruffian ſol- A D. 1366.

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A.D. 1366.

diers, who had been excommunicated, and the ſum of two hundred thouſand livres, for their ſubſiſtence. The firſt was readily promiſed him; but ſome difficulty being made with regard to the ſecond, du Gueſclin replied, "My fellows, I believe, may make a ſhift "to do without your abſolution: but the money is "abſolutely neceſſary." His Holineſs then extorted from the inhabitants of the city and its neighbourhood the ſum of one hundred thouſand livres, and offered it to du Gueſclin. "It is not my purpoſe," cried that generous warrior, "to oppreſs the innocent people. "The pope and his cardinals can ſpare me double the "ſum from their own pockets. I therefore inſiſt, "that this money be reſtored to the owners: and if I "hear they are defrauded of it, I will myſelf return "from the other ſide of the Pyrenees, and oblige you "to make them reſtitution." The pope found the neceſſity of ſubmitting, and paid from his own treaſury the ſum demanded [31]. Thus hallowed by the bleſſings, and enriched by the ſpoils of the church, du Gueſclin and his army proceeded on their expedition!

A BODY of experienced and hardy ſoldiers, conducted by ſo able a general, eaſily prevailed over the king of Caſtile, whoſe ſubjects were ready to join the enemy againſt their oppreſſor. Peter fled from his dominions, took ſhelter in Guienne, and craved the protection of the prince of Wales, whom his father had inveſted with the ſovereignty of the ceded provinces, under the title of the principality of Aquitaine. The prince promiſed his aſſiſtance to the dethroned monarch; and having obtained his father's conſent, he levied an army, and ſet out on his enterpriſe.

A.D. 1367.

THE firſt loſs which Henry of Traſtamara ſuffered from the interpoſition of the prince of Wales, was the recalling of the *companies* from his ſervice; and ſo much reve-

reverence did they pay to the name of Edward, that great numbers of them immediately withdrew from Spain, and inliſted under his ſtandard. Henry, however, beloved by his new ſubjects, and ſupported by the king of Arragon, was able to meet the enemy with an army of one hundred thouſand men, three times the number of thoſe commanded by the Black Prince: yet du Gueſclin, and all his experienced officers, adviſed him to delay a deciſive action; ſo high was their opinion of the valour and conduct of the Engliſh hero!—But Henry, truſting to his numbers, ventured to give Edward battle on the banks of the Ebro, between Najara, and Navarette; where the French and Spaniards were defeated, with the loſs of above twenty thouſand men, and du Gueſclin and other officers of diſtinction taken priſoners. All Caſtile ſubmitted to the victor; Peter was reſtored to the throne; and Edward returned to Guienne with his uſual glory; having not only overcome the greateſt general of his age, but reſtrained the moſt blood-thirſty tyrant from executing vengeance on his priſoners [32].

A.D. 1367.

April 3.

THIS gallant warrior had ſoon reaſon to repent of his connections with a man like Peter, loſt to all ſenſe of virtue and honour. The ungrateful monſter refuſed the ſtipulated pay to the Engliſh forces. Edward abandoned him: he treated his ſubjects with the utmoſt barbarity; their animoſity was rouſed againſt him; and du Gueſclin, having obtained his ranſom, returned to Caſtile with the count of Traſtamara, and ſome forces levied anew in France. They were joined by the Spaniſh malcontents; and having no longer the ſuperior genius, and the ſuperior fortune of the Black Prince to encounter, they gained a complete victory over Peter in the neighbourhood of Toledo. The tyrant now took refuge in a caſtle, where he was ſoon after

A.D 1368.

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after beſieged by the victors, and taken priſoner, in endeavouring to make his eſcape. He was conducted to his brother Henry; againſt whom he is ſaid to have ruſhed, in a tranſport of rage, diſarmed as he was. Henry ſlew him with his own hand, in reſentment of his cruelties; and, though a baſtard, was placed on the throne of Caſtile, which he tranſmitted to his poſterity 33.

A.D. 1368.

In the meantime the affairs of the Black Prince were fallen into ſome diſorder. He had involved himſelf ſo much in debt by his Spaniſh expedition, that he found it neceſſary, on his return, to impoſe on his principality a new tax, which ſome of the nobility paid with extreme reluctance, and to which others abſolutely refuſed to ſubmit. They carried their complaints to the king of France, as their lord paramount; and, as the renunciations agreed to in the treaty of Bretigni had never been made, Charles ſeized this opportunity, to renew his claim of ſuperiority over the Engliſh provinces 34. In this reſolution he was encouraged by the declining years of Edward III. and the languiſhing ſtate of the prince of Wales's health: he therefore ſent the prince a ſummons to appear in his court at Paris, and juſtify his conduct towards his vaſſals. The prince replied, that he would come to Paris; but it ſhould be at the head of ſixty thouſand men. War was renewed between France and England: but the low ſtate of the prince of Wales's health not permitting him to exert his uſual activity, the French were victorious in almoſt every action; and when he was obliged, by his increaſing infirmities, to throw up the command, and return to his native country, the affairs of the Engliſh went to total ruin. They were ſtript, in a few years, of all their ancient poſſeſſions in France, except Bourdeaux and

A.D. 1369.

A.D. 1370.

and Bayonne; and of all their conqueſts, except Ca- LETTER XXXVII.
lais 31.

THESE misfortunes abroad were followed by the decay of the king's authority at home; which was chiefly occaſioned by his extravagant attachment to Alice Pierce, a young lady of wit and beauty, whoſe influence over him had given ſuch general diſguſt, as to become the object of a parliamentary remonſtrance. The indolence naturally attending old age and infirmities, had alſo made Edward reſign the adminiſtration into the hands of his ſon, the duke of Lancaſter, whoſe unpopular character and proceedings weakened extremely the affection of the Engliſh to their ſovereign. Meanwhile the prince of Wales died; leaving behind him a character adorned with every eminent virtue, and which would throw luſtre on the moſt ſhining period of ancient or modern hiſtory. The king ſurvived this melancholy incident only about a twelvemonth. He expired in the ſixty-fifth year of his age, and the fifty-firſt of his reign; one of the longeſt and moſt glorious in the Engliſh annals. His latter days were indeed ſomewhat obſcured, by the infirmities and the follies of age: but he was no ſooner dead, than the people were ſenſible of their irreparable loſs; and poſterity conſiders him as the greateſt and moſt accompliſhed prince of his age. A D. 1376.

THE domeſtic government of Edward was even more worthy of admiration than his foreign victories. By the prudence and vigour of his adminiſtration, the kingdom enjoyed a longer term of internal peace and tranquility than it had been bleſt with in any former period, or than it experienced for many ages after. He gained the affections of the great, yet curbed their licentiouſneſs. His affable and obliging behaviour, his munificence and generoſity, made them ſubmit with

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with pleaſure to his dominion: his valour and conduct made them ſucceſsful in moſt of their enterpriſes; and their unquiet ſpirits, directed againſt a public enemy, had no leiſure to breed thoſe diſturbances to which they were naturally ſo much inclined. This was the chief benefit which England derived from Edward's foreign expeditions: and the miſeries of the reign of his ſucceſſor, made the nation fully ſenſible of the value of the bleſſing. But before I ſpeak of Richard II. the unhappy ſon of the Black Prince, I muſt carry forward the affairs of the empire. At preſent, however, it will be neceſſary to obſerve, that the French monarch, Charles V. whoſe prudent conduct had acquired him the ſurname of *Wiſe*, died ſoon after Edward III. while he was attempting to expel the Engliſh from the few places which they ſtill retained in France, and left his kingdom to a minor ſon of the ſame name, Charles VI. ſo that England and France were now both under the government of minors: and both experienced the misfortunes of a turbulent and divided regency.

LETTER XXXVIII.

The GERMAN EMPIRE *and its Dependencies*, ROME, *and the* ITALIAN STATES, *from the Election of* LEWIS *of* BAVARIA, *to the Death of* CHARLES IV.

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WE now, my dear Philip, approach to that era in the hiſtory of the German empire, when the famous conſtitution, called the Golden Bull, was eſtabliſhed; which, among other things, ſettled the number and the rights of the electors, as yet uncertain, and productive of many diſorders.

HENRY VII. as you have already ſeen, ſtruggled hard to recover the ſovereignty of Italy; but he died before he was able to accompliſh his purpoſe. His death was followed by an inter-regnum of fourteen months; which were employed in the intrigues of Lewis of Bavaria, and of Frederick the Handſome, duke of Auſtria. Lewis was elected by the greater number of the princes; A.D. 1315. but Frederick being choſen and ſupported by a faction, diſputed the empire with him. A furious civil war, which long deſolated both Italy and Germany, was the conſequence of this oppoſition. At laſt the two competitors met near Muldorf, and agreed to decide their important diſpute by thirty champions, fifteen againſt fifteen; who accordingly engaged in preſence of both armies, and fought with ſuch fury, that in a ſhort time not one of them was left alive. A general action followed, in which the Auſtrians were worſted. But this victory was not deciſive. Frederick ſoon repaired his loſs, and even ravaged Bavaria. The Bavarian aſſembled a powerful army, in order to oppoſe his rival;

A.D. 1319.

LETTER XXXVIII. A.D 1322.

val; and the battle of Vechivis, in which the duke of Auſtria was taken priſoner, fixed the imperial crown on the head of Lewis V.

DURING the courſe of theſe ſtruggles was fought, between the Swiſs and Auſtrians, the memorable battle of Morgart; which eſtabliſhed the liberty of Swiſſerland, as the victory of Marathon had formerly done that of Greece: and Attic eloquence only was wanting to render it equally famous. Sixteen hundred Swiſs, from the cantons of Uri, Schwitz, and Underwald, defeated an army of twenty thouſand Auſtrians, in paſſing the mountains near Morgart, and drove them out of the country with terrible ſlaughter. The alliance, which theſe three cantons had entered into for the term of ten years, was now converted into a perpetual league; and the other cantons occaſionally joined in it [z].

LEWIS V. had no ſooner humbled the duke of Auſtria, than a new antagoniſt ſtarted up: he had the pope to encounter. The reigning pontiff at that time was John XXII. who had been elected at Lyons in 1315, by the influence of Philip the Long, king of France. John was the ſon of a cobler, and one of thoſe men, who, raiſed to power by chance or merit, are haughty in proportion to the meanneſs of their birth. He had not hitherto, however, interfered in the affairs of the empire; but now, all at once, he ſet himſelf up as its judge and maſter. He declared the election of Lewis void: he maintained, that it was the right of the ſovereign pontiff to examine and confirm the election of emperors; that the government, during a vacancy, belonged to him: and he commanded the emperor, by virtue of his apoſtolic power, to lay aſide the imperial enſigns, until he ſhould receive permiſſion from the Holy See to reaſſume them [a].

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SEVERAL attempts were made by Lewis towards a reconciliation with his holineſs, but in vain: the proud pontiff was inflexible, and would liſten to no reaſonable conditions. The emperor, therefore, jealous of the independency of his crown, endeavoured to ſtrengthen his intereſt both in Italy and Germany. He continued the government of Milan in the family of the Viſconti, who were rather maſters than magiſtrates of that city; and he conferred the government of Lucca on Caſtruccio Caſtruccani, a celebrated captain, whoſe life is pompouſly written by Machiavel. The German princes were moſtly in his intereſt, and no leſs jealous than he of the dignity of the empire.

ENRAGED at ſuch firmneſs, pope John excommunicated and depoſed the emperor Lewis, and endeavoured to get Charles the Fair, king of France, elected in his room. But this attempt miſcarried: none of the German princes, except Leopold of Auſtria, came to the place appointed for an interview with the French monarch; and the imprudent and ambitious Charles returned chagrined and diſappointed into his own dominions [4]. A.D. 1325.

THUS freed from a dangerous rival, the emperor marched into Italy, in order to eſtabliſh his authority in that country. He was crowned at Milan, and afterwards at Rome; where he ordered the following proclamation to be made three times by an Auguſtine friar: "Is there any one who will defend the cauſe of "the prieſt of Cahors, who calls himſelf pope John?" —And no perſon appearing, ſentence was immediately pronounced againſt his holineſs. Lewis declared him convicted of hereſy, deprived him of all his dignities and benefices, and delivered him over to the ſecular power, in order to ſuffer the puniſhment of fire: A.D. 1327. A.D. 1328.

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and Peter Rainaucci, a Neopolitan Cordelier, was created pope, under the name of Nicholas V [5].

But Lewis, notwithſtanding this mighty parade, was ſoon obliged, like his predeceſſors, to quit Italy, in order to quell the troubles of Germany; and pope John, though a refugee on the banks of the Rhone, recovered his authority in Rome. The Imperialiſts
A.D. 1330. were expelled the city; and Nicholas V. the emperor's pope, was carried to Avignon, where, with a rope about his neck, he publickly implored forgiveneſs of his rival, and ended his days in priſon [6].

The emperor, in the meantime, remained in peace at Munich, having ſettled the affairs of Germany. But as he ſtill lay under the cenſures of the church, and the pope continued to ſolicit the princes of the empire to revolt againſt him, Lewis was preparing to aſſemble a general council, in order to depoſe his holineſs a ſecond
A.D. 1334. time, when the death of John made ſuch a meaſure unneceſſary, and relieved the emperor from all dread of the ſpiritual thunder. This turbulent pope, who firſt invented the taxes for diſpenſations and mortal ſins, died immenſely rich. He was ſucceeded in the papacy by James Dufour, ſurnamed the White Cardinal, who aſſumed the name of Benedict XII [7].

The new pope, who ſeemed deſirous to tread in the ſteps of his predeceſſor, confirmed all the bulls which had been iſſued by John againſt the emperor. But Lewis had now affairs of more importance to engage his attention, than theſe impotent fulminations. John of Luxemburg, ſecond ſon of the king of Bohemia, had married Margaret, ſurnamed Great Mouth, heireſs of Carinthia; and this princeſs accuſing her huſband of impotency, a biſhop of Friſingen diſſolved the marriage, and ſhe eſpouſed the

margrave of Brandenburg, ſon of the emperor Lewis, who readily conſented to a match that added Tyrol and Carinthia to his family. This marriage produced a war between the houſes of Bavaria and Bohemia, which laſted only oneyear; and after abundance of bloodſhed, the parties came to a very ſingular accommodation: John of Luxemburg confeſſed that his wife had reaſon to forſake him, renounced all claim to her, and ratified her marriage with the margrave of Brandenburg [8]. LETTER XXXVIII. A D. 1336.

THIS war being finiſhed, Lewis exerted all his endeavours to appeaſe the domeſtic troubles of the empire, which were ſtill kept alive by the intrigues of the pope; and notwithſtanding all the injuries and inſults he had ſuſtained, he made ſeveral attempts towards an accommodation with the Holy See. But theſe negociations being rendered ineffectual by the influence of France, the princes of the empire, eccleſiaſtical as well as ſecular, aſſembled at Franckfort, eſtabliſhed that famous conſtitution, by which it was irrevocably fixed, "That the plurality of the ſuffragans of the "electoral college confers the empire, without the "conſent of the Holy See; that the pope has no ſu"periority over the emperor of Germany, nor any "right to approve or reject his election; and that to "maintain the contrary is high-treaſon." They alſo refuted the abſurd claim of the popes to the government of the empire, during a vacancy; and declared, that this right appertains, by ancient cuſtom, to the count palatine of the Rhine [9]. A.D. 1338.

GERMANY now enjoyed for ſome years what it had ſeldom known, the bleſſing of peace; which was again interrupted by the court of Avignon. Benedict XII. was ſucceeded in the papacy by Clement VI. a native

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of France, and ſo haughty and enterpriſing as to affirm, that his "predeceſſors did not know what it was to be "popes." He began his pontificate with renewing all the bulls iſſued againſt Lewis; with naming a vicar general of the empire in Lombardy, and endeavouring to make all Italy ſhake off the emperor's authority.

LEWIS, ſtill deſirous of an accommodation with the Holy See, amidſt all theſe acts of enmity, ſent ambaſſadors to the court of Avignon. But the conditions preſcribed by his holineſs were ſo unreaſonable, that they were rejected with diſdain by a diet of the empire, as an inſult upon the imperial dignity. Clement, more incenſed than ever at this inſtance of diſregard, fulminated new excommunications againſt the emperor. A.D. 1346. "May the wrath of God," ſays the enraged pontiff in one of his bulls, "and of St. Peter and St. Paul, "cruſh him in this world, and that which is to come! "May the earth open and ſwallow him alive; may "his memory periſh, and all the elements be his ene-"mies; and may his children fall into the hands of "his adverſaries, even in the ſight of their father [19]!"

CLEMENT iſſued another bull for the election of a new emperor; and Charles of Luxemburg, margrave of Moravia, afterwards known by the name of Charles IV. ſon and heir of John king of Bohemia, having made the neceſſary conceſſions to his holineſs, was elected king of the Romans by a faction. Lewis, however, maintained his authority till his death, which A.D. 1347. happened ſoon after the election of his rival; when Charles, rather by his money than his valour, got poſſeſſion of the imperial throne.

WHILE theſe things were tranſacting in Germany, a ſingular ſcene was exhibited in Italy. Nicholas Rienzi,

enzi, a private citizen of Rome, but an eloquent, bold, enterprizing man, and an enthuſiaſt, ſeeing that city abandoned by the emperors and the popes, ſet himſelf up as the reſtorer of the Roman liberty and the Roman power. Proclaimed tribune by the people, and put in poſſeſſion of the capital, he declared all the inhabitants of Italy free, and denizens of Rome. But theſe convulſive ſtruggles of long expiring liberty, like many others, proved ineffectual. Rienzi, who ſtiled himſelf "the ſevere though merciful deliverer of Rome, the "zealous ſtickler for the liberties of Italy, and the "lover of all mankind," as he attempted to imitate the Gracchi, met the ſame fate, being murdered by the patrician faction [11].

A SCENE no leſs extraordinary was, about this time, exhibited at Naples. The kingdoms of Naples and Sicily ſtill continued to be ruled by foreigners. Naples was governed by the houſe of France, and Sicily by that of Arragon. Robert of Anjou, ſon of Charles the Lame, though he had failed in his attempt to recover poſſeſſion of Sicily, had made Naples a flouriſhing kingdom. He died in 1343, and left his crown to Joan his grand-daughter, who had married her relation Andrew, brother to Lewis of Anjou, elected king of Hungary; a match which ſeemed to cement the happineſs and proſperity of that houſe, but proved the ſource of all its misfortunes. Andrew pretended to reign in his own right; and Joan, though but eighteen years of age, inſiſted that he ſhould only be conſidered as the queen's huſband. A Franciſcan friar, called Brother Robert, by whoſe advice Andrew was wholly governed, lighted up the flames of hatred and diſcord between the royal pair; and the Hungarians, of whom Andrew's court was principally compoſed, excited the jealouſy of the Neopolitans, who conſidered them as barbarians. It was therefore reſolved, in a

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council of the queen's favourites, to put Andrew to death. He was accordingly ſtrangled in his wife's antichamber: and Joan married the prince of Tarentum, who had been publickly accuſed of the murder of her huſband, and was well known to have been concerned in that bloody deed. How ſtrong a preſumption of her own guilt!

In the meantime Lewis king of Hungary, brother to the murdered Andrew, wrote to Joan, that he would revenge the death of that unfortunate prince on her and her accomplices; and he accordingly ſet out for Naples by the way of Venice and Rome. At
A.D. 1348. Rome he publickly accuſed Joan, before the tribune Rienzi; who during the exiſtence of his tranſitory power, beheld ſeveral kings appealing to his tribunal, as was cuſtomary in the times of the republic. Rienzi however declined giving his deciſion; by which he at leaſt gave one example of his prudence: and Lewis advanced towards Naples, carrying along with him a black ſtandard, on which was painted Andrew's murder. He ordered a prince of the blood, and one of the accomplices in the regicide, to be beheaded. Joan and her huſband fled into Provence; where finding herſelf again abandoned by her ſubjects, ſhe waited on pope Clement VI. at Avignon, a city of which ſhe was ſovereign, as counteſs of Provence, and which ſhe ſold to that pontiff, together with its territories, for eighty thouſand florins in gold, which a celebrated hiſtorian tells us were never paid. Here ſhe pleaded her cauſe in perſon before the pope, and was acquitted: but perhaps the deſire of poſſeſſing Avignon had ſome influence upon the judgment of his holineſs.

Clement's kindneſs did not ſtop here. In order to engage the king of Hungary to quit Naples, he ſtipulated that Joan ſhould pay him a ſum of money; but

but as ambition or avarice had no ſhare in Lewis's enterpriſe, he generouſly replied, "I am not come hither to ſell my brother's blood, but to revenge it!" and as he had partly effected his purpoſe, he went away ſatisfied, though the kingdom of Naples was in his power [12]. Joan recovered her dominions, but only to be more wretched. Of her unhappy fate, I ſhall afterwards have occaſion to ſpeak. A.D. 1352.

We muſt now return to the affairs of the emperor Charles IV. This prince, who was equally diſtinguiſhed by his weakneſs and pride, had no ſooner ſettled the affairs of Germany, than he went to receive the imperial crown at Rome; where he behaved in a manner more puſillanimous than any of his predeceſſors. The coronation ceremony was no ſooner performed, than he retired without the walls, in conſequence of an agreement which he had made with the pope; tho' the Romans came to offer him the government of their city, as his hereditary right, and intreated him to re-eſtabliſh their ancient liberty. He told the deputies he would deliberate on the propoſal; but being apprehenſive of ſome treachery, he ſneaked off in the evening, under pretence of going to take the diverſion of hunting: and he afterwards ratified and confirmed all the promiſes extorted from him by Clement VI. ſo much to the prejudice of the empire in Italy [13]. A.D. 1355.

The poet Petrarch, ſo highly celebrated for his love-verſes, wrote a letter to Charles upon this occaſion, in which are found theſe ſpirited words: "You have then promiſed upon oath, never to return "to Rome!—What ſhameful conduct in an emperor, "to be compelled by a prieſt to content himſelf with "the bare title of Cæſar, and to exile himſelf for "ever from the habitation of the Cæſars! to be crowned

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" crowned emperor, and then prohibited from reigning, or acting as head of the empire!—What an inſult upon him who ought to command the univerſe, to be no longer maſter of himſelf, but be reduced to obey his own vaſſal[14]!"

THIS emperor ſeemed to have renounced entirely the politics of his predeceſſors; for he not only diſcouraged and rejected the proffers of the Ghibelines, but affected to treat them as enemies to religion, and actually ſupported the Guelphs. By theſe means he procured the favour of the pope and his dependants, who flattered him with the moſt fulſome adulation; but the Italians in general viewed him with contempt, and the greater part of the towns attached to the empire ſhut their gates againſt him. At Cremona he was obliged to wait two hours without the walls, before he received the anſwer of the magiſtrates; who, at laſt, only permitted him to enter as a ſimple ſtranger, without arms or retinue[15].

CHARLES IV. made a more reſpectable figure after his return to Germany. The number of electorates had been fixed ſince the time of Henry VII. more by cuſtom than by laws, but not the number of electors. The duke of Bavaria preſumed he had a right to elect as well as the count Palatine, the elder branch of their family; and the younger brothers of the houſe of Saxony believed themſelves entitled to vote, as well as the elder. The emperor therefore reſolved to ſettle theſe points, that due ſubordination might take place, and future elections be conducted without confuſion or diſorder. For this purpoſe he ordered a diet

A.D. 1356.

to be aſſembled at Nuremberg, where the famous conſtitution, called the *Golden Bull*, was eſtabliſhed, in the preſence, and with the conſent of all the princes, biſhops,

biſhops, abbots, and the deputies of the imperial cities. LETTER XXXVIII. A.D. 1356.

THE ſtile of this celebrated charter partakes ſtrongly of the ſpirit of the times. It begins with an apoſtrophe to Satan, anger, pride, luxury: and it ſays, it is neceſſary the number of electors ſhould be ſeven, in order to oppoſe the ſeven mortal ſins. It ſpeaks of the fall of the angels, of a heavenly paradiſe, of Pompey, and of Cæſar; and it aſſerts, that the government of Germany is founded on the three theological virtues, as on the Trinity. The ſeven electors were, the archbiſhops of Mentz, Cologne, and Triers, the king of Bohemia, the count Palatine, the duke of Saxony, and the margrave of Brandenburg.

THE imperial dignity, which then of itſelf conferred little real power, never ſhewed more of that luſtre which dazzles the eyes of the people, than on the publication of this famous edict. The three eccleſiaſtical electors, all three arch-chancellors, appeared in the proceſſion with the ſeals of the empire: the archbiſhop of Mentz carried that of Germany, the archbiſhop of Cologn that of Italy, and the archbiſhop of Triers that of Gaul; though the empire now poſſeſſed nothing in Gaul, except a claim to the empty homage of the remains of the kingdoms of Arles, Provence, and Dauphiné. How little power Charles had in Italy, you have already ſeen. Beſides granting to the pope all the lands claimed by the Holy See, he left the houſe of Viſconti in the quiet poſſeſſion of Milan and Lombardy, which they had uſurped from him, and the Venetians in that of Padua, Vicenza, and Verona. We muſt now return to the ceremonial. The duke of Luxemburg and Brabant, who repreſented the king of Bohemia, as great cup-bearer, preſented the emperor with his drink, poured from a gol-

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A D. 1556.

den flagon into a cup of the ſame metal; the duke of Saxony, as grand marſhal, appeared with a ſilver meaſure filled with oats; the elector of Brandenburg preſented the emperor and empreſs with water to waſh in a golden ewer, placed in a golden baſon; and the Count Palatine ſerved up the victuals in golden diſhes, in preſence of all the great officers of the empire [16].

THE latter part of the reign of Charles IV. was diſtinguiſhed by nothing remarkable, except the ſale of the imperial juriſdictions in Italy; which were again reſumed, and again ſold. Charles, who was reputed a good prince, but a bad emperor, died in 1378; and was ſucceeded in all his poſſeſſions and dignities by his ſon Winceſlaus, whom I ſhall afterwards have occaſion to mention. We muſt now return to the affairs of England; remarking by the way, that Charles IV. was an encourager of letters, and founded the univerſity of Prague.

LETTER XXXIX.

ENGLAND from the Death of EDWARD III. *to the Acceſſion of* HENRY V. *with ſome Account of the Affairs of* SCOTLAND *during that Period.*

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AFTER ſeeing England victorious in France and in Spain, you have ſeen her ſtript, my dear Philip, of almoſt all her poſſeſſions on the continent, and Edward III. expiring with much leſs glory, than had diſtinguiſhed the more early periods of his reign. His ſucceſſor Richard II. ſon of the Black Prince, was little able to recover what had been loſt through the indiſpoſition of his father, and the dotage of his grandfather. Happy had it been for him, and for his people, could he have ruled his own kingdom with judgment!

RICHARD's weakneſs, however, was not immediately perceived, or felt by the nation. He was only a boy of eleven years of age, from whom conſequently little could be expected. The habits of order and obedience, which the nobility had been taught by the third Edward, ſtill influenced them; and the authority of Richard's three uncles, the dukes of Lancaſter, York, and Glouceſter, ſufficed to repreſs for a time that turbulent ſpirit, to which the great barons were ſo often ſubject during a weak reign. The different characters of thoſe three princes rendered them alſo a counterpoiſe to each other; ſo that there appeared no new circumſtance in the domeſtic ſituation of England, which could endanger the public peace, or give any immediate apprehenſions to the lovers of their country.

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But this flattering proſpect proved deluſive. Diſcontents and diſſentions ſoon took place among all orders of men. The firſt tumult was of the popular kind. War was ſtill carried on between France and England, but in ſo languid a manner as ſerved only to exhauſt the finances of both kingdoms. In order to repair the
A.D. 1380. expences of theſe fruitleſs armaments, the Engliſh parliament found it neceſſary to impoſe a poll-tax, of three groats a head, on every perſon, male and female, above fifteen years of age. The inequality and injuſtice of this tax was obvious to the meaneſt capacity, and the rigorous manner in which it was levied made it ſtill more grievous. The great body of the people, many of whom were yet in a ſtate of ſlavery, became ſeverely ſenſible of the unequal lot which fortune had aſſigned them in the diſtribution of her favours. They looked up to the firſt origin of mankind from one common ſtock, their equal right to liberty, and to all the benefits of nature. Nor did they fail to reflect on the tyranny of artificial diſtinctions, the abuſes which had ariſen from the degradation of the more conſiderable part of the ſpecies, and the aggrandiſement of a few individuals.

"When Adam delv'd, and Eve ſpan,
"Where was then the gentleman?"

was their favourite diſtich: and tho' theſe two verſes, when miſapplied, ſtrike at the foundation of all ſociety, they contain a ſentiment ſo flattering to that ſenſe of primitive equality, engraven in the hearts of all men, as never to be repeated without ſome degree of approbation.

When the diſcontents of the populace were thus prepared, the inſolence of a tax-gatherer, and the ſpirit of a blackſmith, blew them into a flame. While the black-

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A.D. 1381.

blackſmith was at work, in a village in Eſſex, the tax-gatherer came to his ſhop, and demanded payment for his daughter. The father replied, that ſhe was below the age preſcribed by the ſtatute: the tax-gatherer affirmed ſhe was a full grown woman, and in proof of his aſſertion attempted an indecency; which incenſed the blackſmith to ſuch a degree, that he knocked the ruffian dead with his forge-hammer. The byſtanders applauded the action, and exclaimed that it was full time for the people to take vengeance on their tyrants, and aſſert their native rights. They flew to arms: the flame of ſedition ſpread from county to county; and before the government had the leaſt intimation of the danger, the diſorder had grown beyond all controul or oppoſition.

These mutinous peaſants, to the number of one hundred thouſand, aſſembled on Black-heath, under their leader Wat Tyler; and ſent a meſſage to the king, who had taken ſhelter in the Tower, that they deſired a conference with him. Richard ſailed down the river in a barge for that purpoſe; but on approaching the ſhore, he diſcovered ſuch ſymptoms of tumult and inſolence, that he judged it prudent to return. Finding however, that the Tower would be no ſecurity for him, and afflicted at the ravages and cruelties of the rioters, who had broken into the city of London, plundered the merchants, and cut off the heads of all the gentlemen they could ſeize, the king found it neceſſary to go out, and enquire their demands. They required a general pardon; the abolition of ſlavery; freedom of commerce in market towns, without toll or impoſt; and a fixed rent on lands, inſtead of the ſervices due by villanage. Theſe requeſts were highly reaſonable; but Wat Tyler, their leader, in making his demands, frequently lifted up his ſword in a menacing manner, which ſo much

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much incenſed William Walworth, mayor of London, who attended the king on this occaſion, that he lifted up his mace, or, as others ſay, his ſword, and ſtruck Tyler ſo violent a blow, as brought him to the ground, where he was immediately run thro' the body by another of the king's train. The mutineers ſeeing their leader fall, prepared themſelves for revenge; and the king and his whole company muſt have periſhed on the ſpot, had not Richard diſcovered an extraordinary preſence of mind in this extremity. He ordered his company to ſtop, advanced alone towards the enraged multitude, and accoſting them with an affable and intrepid countenance, "What, my good people," ſaid he, "is the meaning of this commotion?—Be "not concerned for the loſs of your leader. I am "your king: I will become your leader: follow me "into the field, and you ſhall have whatever you de-"ſire." Overawed by his preſence, they implicitly followed him; and he peaceably diſmiſſed them, after granting them their demands [z].

RICHARD's conduct on this occaſion, conſidering that he was only ſixteen years of age, raiſed great expectations in the nation; but in proportion as he advanced in years, they entirely vaniſhed, and his want of capacity, or at leaſt of ſolid judgment, appeared in every enterpriſe which he undertook. His

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firſt expedition was againſt Scotland, into which he marched at the head of an army of ſixty thouſand men. The Scots did not pretend to make reſiſtance againſt ſo great a force: they abandoned without ſcruple their country to be pillaged and laid waſte by the enemy, and made an incurſion into the more fertile provinces of England, where they collected a rich booty, and returned in tranquility to their own country. Richard, notwithſtanding, wandered over great part of the comparatively barren country of Scotland; and

and led his army back into England, without taking vengeance on the enemy for their devaſtations [3]. His impatience to return, and enjoy his uſual pleaſures and amuſements, over-balanced every higher conſideration, and made even revenge too feeble a motive to detain him.

RICHARD, like moſt weak princes, now reſigned himſelf entirely to the direction of a favourite, whom he loaded with riches, with titles, and with dignities. The uſual, and but too often juſt complaints, againſt the inſolence of favourites, were ſoon loudly echoed, and greedily received, in all parts of the kingdom. A civil war was the conſequence: the royal party was defeated; and Richard was obliged to A.D. 1388. reſign the government into the hands of a council of fourteen, appointed by parliament. The duke of Glouceſter, who had been at the head of this inſurrection, next entered an accuſation againſt five of the king's miniſters, who were declared guilty of high treaſon; and as many of them as could be ſeized were executed.

IT might naturally be expected that Richard, thus reduced to a ſtate of ſlavery by his ſubjects, and unable to defend his ſervants from the reſentment of his uncles, would remain long in ſubjection, and never recover the royal power without the moſt violent ſtruggles: but the event proved otherwiſe. In leſs than a twelvemonth he was entirely reconciled to his uncles, and exerciſed the regal authority in its full A.D. 1389. extent.

AFTER the compoſure of theſe domeſtic diſturbances, and the reſtoration of the government to its natural ſtate, there paſſed an interval of eight years diſtinguiſhed by no remarkable event; but during

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which the king brought himſelf into the loweſt degree of perſonal contempt, even while his government appeared in a great meaſure unexceptionable. Addicted to vulgar pleaſures, he ſpent his whole time in feaſting and jollity; and diſſipated in idle ſhew, or in bounties to favourites of no reputation, that revenue which the people expected to ſee him employ in enterpriſes for the public honour and advantage.

THE duke of Glouceſter ſoon perceived the opportunities which this diſſolute conduct of his nephew afforded him of inſinuating himſelf into the affections of the nation; and he determined to aſpire at popularity, as the ladder to the throne. He ſeldom appeared at court or in council: he never declared his opinion but in order to diſapprove of the meaſures embraced by the king and his favourites: and he courted the friendſhip of every man, whom diſappointment or private reſentment had rendered an enemy to the adminiſtration. Richard, however, got intelligence of his de-
D.A. 1397. ſigns, and ordered him to be unexpectedly arreſted, and carried over to Calais; the only place where he could ſafely be detained in cuſtody, by reaſon of his numerous partizans, and where he was ſoon after murdered. The royal vengeance fell alſo, though with different degrees of ſeverity, on the earls of Arundel and Warwick, the ſuppoſed accomplices of Glouceſter, and on the archbiſhop of Canterbury, Arundel's brother, who was baniſhed the kingdom. Arundel himſelf was beheaded, and Warwick was doomed to perpetual confinement in the Iſle of Man *.

THE deſtruction of the duke of Glouceſter, and the ſupporters of his party, was followed by a miſunderſtanding among thoſe noblemen who had joined in the proſecution; and the duke of Hereford, in particular, went ſo far as to accuſe the duke of Norforlk in parliament,

ment, of having ſpoken "many ſlanderous words of "the king." Norfolk denied the charge; gave Hereford the lie, and offered to prove his innocence by duel. The challenge was accepted; the time and place of combat were appointed, and the whole nation was held in ſuſpence with regard to the event. But when the two champions appeared in the field accoutred for the fight, the king interpoſed, to prevent both the preſent effuſion of blood, and the future conſequences of the quarrel. He ſtopped the duel, by the advice and authority of the parliamentary commiſſioners, appointed to regulate the combat; and, by the ſame authority, he ordered both the combatants to leave the kingdom [5]. Hereford was baniſhed for ten years, and Norfolk for life.

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THE ſentence pronounced upon theſe two noblemen appears to have been impartial, but it ſurely was not equitable. The one was condemned without being charged with any offence; the other, without being convicted of any crime. It was alſo unpopular. Richard's conduct in this affair, was conſidered as a mark of the puſillanimity of his temper: and the weakneſs and fluctuation of his councils, at leaſt, appear on no occaſion more evident. Henry duke of Hereford, being a man of great prudence and ſelf-command, behaved himſelf with ſo much humility after his condemnation, that the king promiſed to ſhorten the term of his exile four years; and alſo granted him letters patent, impowering him, in caſe any inheritance ſhould accrue to him during the interval, to enter into immediate poſſeſſion. But Hereford, who was ſon to the duke of Lancaſter, had no ſooner left the kingdom, than Richard's jealouſy of the power and riches of that family revived; and he was ſenſible, that by Glouceſter's death he had only removed a counterpoiſe to the Lancaſtrian intereſt, which was now become

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formidable to his crown. He therefore took every method to ſully the reputation of Henry abroad, and to obſtruct his alliances, by repreſenting him as guilty of treaſonable practices; and when the duke of
A.D. 1399. Lancaſter died, he revoked his letters patent, and retained poſſeſſion of the family eſtate [6].

THESE inſtances of rapacity and ſeverity, and the circumſtances with which they were accompanied, procured Richard the univerſal odium of the people. Henry, now duke of Lancaſter, had formerly acquired the eſteem of the public by his valour and abilities: he was connected with moſt of the principal nobility by blood, alliance, or friendſhip: his misfortunes added double luſtre to his merit: all men made his caſe their own: they entered into his reſentment; and turned their eyes towards him as the only perſon that could retrieve the loſt honour of the nation, or redreſs the ſuppoſed abuſes in the government.

WHILE the minds of men were thus diſpoſed, Richard went over to quell an inſurrection in Ireland, and thereby imprudently afforded his exiled couſin an opportunity of gratifying the wiſhes of the nation. Henry landed at Ravenſpur in Yorkſhire, accompanied only by ſixty perſons; but he was immediately joined by the earls of Northumberland and Weſtmoreland, two of the moſt potent barons in England, and the malcontents in all quarters flew to arms. He ſolemnly declared, that he had no other purpoſe in this invaſion, than to recover the duchy of Lancaſter, unjuſtly detained from him; and he entreated his uncle, the duke of York, who had been left guardian of the kingdom, not to oppoſe a loyal and humble ſupplicant in the recovery of his legal patrimony. His entreaties had the deſired effect. The

guardian

guardian embraced his cauſe, and he ſoon found himſelf maſter of England. LETTER XXXIX. A.D. 1399.

RICHARD no ſooner received intelligence of this invaſion, than he haſtened over from Ireland, and landed at Milford Haven with a body of twenty thouſand men; but even this ſmall army was ſeized with the ſpirit of diſaffection, and the king ſoon found himſelf almoſt entirely deſerted. In this extremity he fled to the Iſle of Angleſea, where he propoſed to embark for France, and there wait the return of his ſubjects to a ſenſe of their duty. But before he had an opportunity of carrying his deſign into execution, the earl of Northumberland waited upon him from the duke of Lancaſter, with the ſtrongeſt profeſſions of loyalty and ſubmiſſion; and Richard was ſo credulous as to put himſelf in the power of his enemy. He was carried about in an abject manner, expoſed to the inſults of the populace; depoſed, confined in priſon, and afterwards murdered[7]: and the duke of Lancaſter was proclaimed king, under the name of Henry IV.

THE beginning of the reign of Henry IV. (as may naturally be expected from the manner in which he obtained the throne) was ſtained by many acts of blood and violence: all who oppoſed his title, fell a ſacrifice to his rigid policy; and ſuperſtition was called in, to ſwell by new crimes the horrid catalogue. While a ſubject, Henry was believed to have ſtrongly imbibed the principles of Wickliffe, a ſecular prieſt educated at Oxford, who during the reigns of Edward III. and Richard II. preached the doctrine of reformation; but finding himſelf poſſeſſed of the throne by ſo precarious a title, this politic prince thought ſuperſtition a neceſſary implement of public authority. There were hitherto no penal laws enacted

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againſt hereſy in England: Henry, therefore, who made nothing of ſacrificing his principles to his intereſt, underſtanding that the eccleſiaſtics called aloud for the puniſhment of the diſciples of Wickliffe, whoſe learning and genius had in ſome meaſure broken the fetters of prejudice, reſolved to procure the favour of the church by the moſt effectual of all methods, by gratifying her vengeance on thoſe who preſumed to diſpute her infallibility. A law was accordingly enacted, that when any heretic, who relapſed, or refuſed to abjure his opinions, was delivered over to the ſecular arm, by the biſhop or his commiſſaries, he ſhould be committed to the flames by the civil magiſtrate, before the whole people [s]. This weapon did not long remain unemployed in the hands of the clergy. William Sautré, a clergyman in London, had been condemned by the convocation at Canterbury; his ſentence was ratified by the houſe of peers; the king iſſued his writ for the execution; and the unhappy ſectary ſuffered the puniſhment of fire, becauſe he could not think as the church directed. What a fatal prelude to future horrors, proceeding from the ſame ſource!

A.D. 1400.

But all the prudence and precaution of Henry could not ſhield him from numerous alarms. He was threatened with an invaſion from France, which was only prevented by the diſorders in that country; and the revolution in England was ſpeedily followed by an inſurrection in Wales. Owen Glendour, deſcended from the ancient princes of that country, had become obnoxious on account of his attachment to Richard; and Reginald, lord Gray of Ruthyn, who was cloſely connected with the new king, and who enjoyed a great fortune in the Marches of Wales, thought the opportunity favourable for oppreſſing his neighbour, and taking poſſeſſion of his eſtate. Glendour, provoked

at

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at the injuſtice, and ſtill more at the indignity, recovered poſſeſſion by the ſword. Henry ſent aſſiſtance to Gray, the Welch took part with Glendour: a tedious and troubleſome war was kindled, which Glendour long ſuſtained by his valour and activity, aided by the natural ſtrength of the country, and the untamed ſpirit of the inhabitants.

THE Scots alſo were tempted by theſe diſorders to make incurſions into England; and Henry, deſirous of taking revenge upon them, conducted an army as far north as Edinburgh. But finding that the Scots would neither ſubmit nor give him battle, he returned without effecting any thing of conſequence. Next ſeaſon however, Archibald earl of Douglaſs, who at the head of twelve thouſand men, attended by many of the principal nobility of Scotland, had made an irruption into the northern counties, was overtaken by the Piercies on his return, at Homeldon on the borders of England, where a fierce battle enſued, and the Scots were totally routed. Douglaſs himſelf was taken priſoner; as were the earls of Angus, Murray, Orkney, and many others of the Scottiſh nobility and gentry [9]. A.D. 1401. A.D. 1402.

WHEN Henry received intelligence of this victory, he ſent the earl of Northumberland orders not to ranſome his priſoners; which that nobleman regarded as his right, by the laws of war received in that age. The king intended to detain them, that he might be able by their means to make an advantageous peace with Scotland: but by this ſelfiſh policy he gave freſh diſguſt to the Piercies. The impatient ſpirit of Harry Piercy, commonly known by the name of Hotſpur, and the factious diſpoſition of the earl of Worceſter, younger brother of Northumberland, inflamed the diſcontents of that nobleman; and the precarious title of Henry tempted him to ſeek revenge, by over-

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turning that throne which he had at firſt eſtabliſhed. He entered into a correſpondence with Glendour; he gave liberty to the earl of Douglaſs, and made an alliance with that martial chieftain. But when war was ready to break out, Northumberland was unfortunately ſeized with a ſudden illneſs at Berwick; and young Piercy, taking the command of the troops, marched towards Shrewſbury, in order to join his forces with thoſe of Glendour.

THE king had happily a ſmall army on foot, with which he intended to act againſt the Scots; and knowing the importance of celerity in all civil wars, he inſtantly hurried down, in order to give battle to the rebels. He approached Piercy near Shrewſbury, before that nobleman was joined by Glendour; and the policy of one leader, and impatience of the other,
A.D. 1403. made them haſten to a general engagement. The armies were nearly equal in number, conſiſting of about twelve thouſand men each; and we ſcarcely find any battle in thoſe ages, where the ſhock was more terrible or more conſtant. Henry expoſed his perſon in the thickeſt of the fight; and the prince of Wales, his gallant ſon, whoſe military atchievements became afterwards ſo famous, and who here performed his noviciate in arms, ſignalized himſelf in a remarkable manner. Piercy ſupported that renown which he had acquired in many a bloody combat; and Douglaſs, his ancient enemy, and now his friend, ſtill appeared his rival amid the horror and confuſion of the fight. This nobleman performed feats of valour which are almoſt incredible. He ſeemed determined that the king of England ſhould fall that day by his arm. He ſought him all over the field: and as Henry had accoutred ſeveral captains in the royal garb, in order to encourage his troops, the ſword of Douglas rendered this honour fatal to many. But while the

armies were contending in this furious manner, the death of Hotſpur, by an unknown hand, decided the victory, and the royaliſts prevailed. There are ſaid to have fallen on this occaſion near two thouſand three hundred gentlemen. LETTER XXXIX. A.D. 1403.

THE earl of Northumberland, having recovered from his ſickneſs, had levied a freſh army, and was on his march to join his ſon; but being oppoſed by the earl of Weſtmoreland, and hearing of the defeat at Shrewſbury, he diſmiſſed his forces, and came with a ſmall retinue to the king at York. He pretended, that his ſole intention in arming was to mediate between the parties. Henry thought proper to accept of the apology, and even granted him a pardon for his offence. All the other rebels were treated with equal lenity; and except the earl of Worceſter and Sir Richard Vernon, who were regarded as the chief authors of the inſurrection, no perſon engaged in that dangerous enterpriſe ſeems to have periſhed by the hands of the executioner [10].

THIS rebellion was no ſooner quelled, than another was ready to break out, ſupported by the earl of Nottingham and the archbiſhop of York. But it was diſcovered before it was ripe for execution, and the earl and the archbiſhop were both beheaded. Northumberland alſo was concerned in this ſecond rebellion, but made his eſcape into Scotland; whence returning to commit new diſorders, he was ſlain at Bramham, along with lord Bardolf [11]. The death of Glendour, which happened about the ſame time, freed Henry from all his domeſtic enemies; and a fortunate event which threw the heir to the crown of Scotland into his hands, made him alſo ſecure on that quarter. A.D. 1405. A.D. 1407.

ROBERT III. king of Scotland, though a prince of ſlender

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ſlender capacity, was extremely innocent and inoffenſive in his conduct. But Scotland, at that time, was ſtill leſs fitted than England for cheriſhing a ſovereign of ſuch a character. The duke of Albany, Robert's brother, a prince of a more boiſterous and violent diſpoſition, had aſſumed the government of the ſtate; and not ſatisfied with preſent authority, he entertained the criminal purpoſe of extirpating his brother's children, and of acquiring the crown to his own family. He threw into priſon David, his eldeſt nephew, who there periſhed by hunger; ſo that James, the younger brother of David, alone ſtood between the tyrant and the throne. Robert, therefore, ſenſible of his ſon's danger, embarked him on board a ſhip, with a view of ſending him to France, and truſting him to the protection of that friendly power. Unfortunately, however, the veſſel was taken by the Engliſh; and tho' there ſubſiſted at that time a truce between the two kingdoms, Henry refuſed to reſtore the young prince to his liberty [12]: but he made ample amends for this want of generoſity, by beſtowing on James an excellent education, which afterwards qualified him, when he mounted the throne, to reform, in ſome meaſure, the rude and barbarous manners of his native country.

THE remaining part of the reign of Henry IV. was chiefly ſpent in regulating the affairs of his kingdom; which he at length brought into much order, by his valour, prudence, and addreſs. In his latter years, however, he began to turn his eyes towards thoſe bright projects, which his more fortunate ſon carried to ſo great a length againſt the French monarchy; but his declining health prevented him from attempting to put any of them in execution. He died at Weſtminſter in the forty-ſixth year of his age, and the thirteenth of his reign, with the reputation of a wiſe prince, a prudent king, but a bad man; and yet if

A.D. 1413.

we conſider the circumſtances in which he was involved, we can hardly conceive any perſon to carry his ambition to the ſame height, and tranſmit a throne to his poſterity, with leſs violence to humanity.

We ſhould now examine the affairs of France under Charles VI. as an introduction to the reign of Henry V. of England, who became ſovereign of both kingdoms; but we muſt firſt carry forward the hiſtory of the empire and the church.

LETTER

LETTER XL.

The GERMAN EMPIRE *and its Dependencies*, ROME, *and the* ITALIAN STATES, *from the Acceſſion of* WINCESLAUS, *to the Death of* SIGISMUND.

LETTER XL.

THE hiſtory of the German empire, my dear Philip, becomes always more important to us, in proportion as we advance in the narration, though the empire itſelf grew daily leſs conſequential. We now approach two principal events in the hiſtory of the church: the Great Schiſm in the Weſt, and the Council of Conſtance.

A.D. 1378. WINCESLAUS, at the age of ſeventeen, ſucceeded his father, Charles IV. in the government of the empire, and on the throne of Bohemia, when the church was divided by one of thoſe conteſts ſo diſgraceful to Chriſtianity. The Italians had raiſed to the pontificate Urban VI. who confirmed the election of the new emperor, and the French had choſen Clement VII. During theſe troubles Winceſlaus appointed Jadoc, marquis of Moravia, his vicar-general in Italy; laid injunctions upon him to inquire which of the two perſons choſen was the true pope; to acknowledge and protect him whom he ſhould find to be canonically elected, and to expel by force the other, who had intruded himſelf into the chair. He likewiſe held a diet at Nuremburg, and afterwards one at Frankfort, where the affair of the popes being examined, Urban VI. was acknowledged by the German biſhops and archbiſhops, and Winceſlaus and the princes of the empire engaged to protect him in the papacy [1].

AFTER

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After the diet of Frankfort, the emperor repaired to Aix-la Chapelle, where he reſided ſome time, becauſe the plague raged in Bohemia; and here he gave himſelf up to all manner of debauchery, neglecting the affairs of the empire to ſuch a degree, that the princes and towns of Germany were obliged to enter into aſſociations for their mutual defence. At the ſame time Italy was torn to pieces by the ſchiſm in the church. Clement, who had taken Rome from his rival, was expelled in his turn by the citizens, and afterwards ſettled at Avignon, the former reſidence of the French pontiffs. Urban uſed his victory like a tyrant: but all prieſts in power, it has been ſaid, are tyrants. The famous Joan, queen of Naples, of whom I have already had occaſion to ſpeak, firſt experienced the effects of his vengeance.

This princeſs, who had imprudently eſpouſed the cauſe of Clement, had been ſeveral times married, but had no children by any of her huſbands; ſhe therefore adopted Charles Durazzio, the natural heir to her kingdom, and the only remaining deſcendant of the houſe of Anjou in Naples. But Durazzio, thinking it too long to wait for the crown till the natural death of his adoptive mother, aſſociated himſelf with pope Urban, who crowned him king of Naples at Rome, on condition A.D. 1380. that he ſhould beſtow the principality of Capua on Francis Prignano, nephew to his holineſs. Urban alſo depoſed queen Joan, and declared her guilty of hereſy and high-treaſon. Theſe ſteps being taken, the pope and Durazzio marched towards Naples. The church plate and church lands were ſold, in order to facilitate the conqueſt. Joan, meanwhile, was deſtitute both of money and troops. In this extremity, ſhe invited to her aſſiſtance Lewis of Anjou, brother to Charles V. of France; but Lewis, whom ſhe adopted in the room of the ungrateful Durazzio, arrived too

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too late to defend his benefactreſs, or diſpute the kingdom which ſhe had conferred upon him. The pope and Durazzio entered Naples, after having defeated and taken priſoner Otho of Brunſwick, the queen's huſband. All reſiſtance now appeared in vain, and flight alone ſeemed practicable; but even in this the unfortunate Joan failed: ſhe fell into the uſurper's hands; who, in order to give ſome colour to his barbarity, declared himſelf the avenger of the murder of her firſt huſband. Lewis, king of Hungary, was conſulted with regard to the fate of the unhappy queen: he replied, that ſhe muſt ſuffer the ſame death
A.D. 1399. which ſhe had inflicted on her huſband Andrew; and Durazzio ordered her to be ſmothered between two mattreſſes [2]. Thus periſhed the famous Joan I. queen of Naples, who was celebrated by Petrarch and Boccace; and whoſe life, character, and cataſtrophe, have a ſingular reſemblance to thoſe of the unfortunate Mary Stuart, queen of Scotland, whom I ſhall afterwards have occaſion to mention.

WHILE one gallant woman thus ſunk beneath the arm of power, another roſe ſuperior to all reſiſtance. On the death of Olaus, king of Denmark, his mother Margaret aſcended the throne, with the unanimous conſent of the people; and even recommended herſelf ſo ſtrongly to the Swedes, who were oppreſſed by their own king Albert, that they renounced their allegiance to that prince, and made her a ſolemn tender of their crown. In conſequence of this offer, Margaret march-
A.D. 1387. ed to their aſſiſtance; defeated Albert, who was depoſed, and obliged to retire to the dominions of his brother the duke of Mecklenburg, on which ſhe aſſumed the reins of government, and was diſtinguiſhed by the appellation of the Semiramis of the North [3].

MEANTIME Winceſlaus continued immerſed in debauchery, and ſeemed induſtrious in acquiring the implacable

placable hatred of his ſubjects by the extraordinary taxes he impoſed, and the cruelties which he excerciſed upon people of all ranks. In order to familiarize himſelf to blood and carnage, he deſcended ſo low, as to contract an intimacy with the publick executioner, whom he diſtinguiſhed by the appellation of his goſſip; and in one of his fits of intoxication, he is ſaid to have ordered his cook to be roaſted alive [4].

On account of theſe irregularities, and of ſelling the rights of the empire, both in Italy and Germany, the electors aſſembled at the caſtle of Laenſtein on the Rhine, depoſed Winceſlaus, and raiſed to the imperial dignity Frederick duke of Brunſwick and Lunenburg; but he being baſely murdered by count Waldeck before his coronation, they elected Robert count Palatine in his place. A.D. 1399.

Winceslaus was ſo little mortified at the news of his depoſition, that he ſaid, when he received the intelligence, "We are overjoyed to be delivered "from the burden of the empire; becauſe we ſhall "have more leiſure to apply ourſelves to the govern-"ment of our own kingdom:" and it muſt be owned, that during the nineteen years, which he afterwards reigned in Bohemia, his conduct was much leſs exceptionable. But though the indolent Winceſlaus was ſo little concerned at the loſs of the empire, he was ſenſibly affected by what touched him more nearly, tho' ſeemingly of leſs moment; for he is ſaid to have deſired, as a laſt mark of the fidelity of the imperial cities, that they would ſend him "ſome butts of their "beſt wine [5]."

The firſt expedition of the new emperor was againſt Galeazo Viſconti, whom Winceſlaus had created duke of Milan, and who not contented with this promotion, pro-

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propoſed by force of arms to make himſelf maſter of Florence, Mantua, Bologna, and other towns and countries, to be incorporated with his duchy. In order to preſerve theſe territories, and recover the imperial authority in Italy, Robert marched into the duchy
A.D. 1402. of Milan, and encamped before the city of Brixen; but Galeazo was ſo well provided with troops and military ſtores, that the emperor was obliged to return to Germany, without being able to effect any thing of importance [6].

THE retreat of Robert left the field open to Galeazo, who now projected nothing leſs than the conqueſt of the whole kingdom of Italy: and fortune at firſt ſeemed to ſecond his views. He made himſelf maſter of the city of Bologna, and was on the eve of reducing Florence, when he was attacked by a malignant fever, which at once put an end to his life and his
A.D 1403. projects. As he left only one daughter, who was not of age, a favourable opportunity was afforded Robert of retrieving the affairs of the empire in Italy. But the German princes were ſo little pleaſed with his firſt expedition, that they would not grant him ſupplies for a ſecond: he therefore employed himſelf in appeaſing the troubles of Germany, and in aggrandiſing his own electorate; to which he added the fiefs of Gegenbach, Ortemberg, Offenburg, Zell, Hermanbach, and ſeveral other lordſhips of Alſace, purchaſed of the biſhop of Straſburg [7].

IN the meantime Bohemia was involved in new diſorders by the preaching of John Huſs, rector of the univerſity of Prague, who had embraced the opinions of Wickliffe, and was excommunicated by the pope. The publication of this ſentence was followed by troubles and ſedition: Winceſlaus ſhut himſelf up in the fortreſs of Viſigrade, and John Huſs retired to Huſſinet,

net, the place of his nativity; where he appealed from the judgment of the pope to the Holy Trinity, and wrote to the cardinals, offering to give an account of his faith, even at the hazard of fire, before the univerſity of Prague, and in the preſence of thoſe who had attended his lectures and ſermons[8]. LETTER XL.

THE Roman church not only ſuffered from theſe innovations, but alſo continued in a ſtate of diſtraction from the ſchiſm which ſtill remained, and which the emperor attempted in vain to cement. Gregory XII. who was acknowledged pope in Italy, convened a council at Aquileia, to which he invited Robert, and other Chriſtian princes, in order to conſider this matter: Benedict XIII. who was owned in France, held another council at Catalonia; the cardinals convoked a third at Piſa, and the emperor appointed a diet, for the ſame purpoſe, at Frankfort; where, after long debates, the opinions of the aſſembly were divided between the two popes. The greater part of the archbiſhops, prelates, and princes, eſpouſed the cauſe of the cardinals; but the emperor, the archbiſhop of Triers, the duke of Bavaria, and ſome others, declared for Gregory, who propoſed that a council ſhould be held at Udnia, in Friuli, under the direction of Robert, by whoſe deciſion he promiſed to abide. The emperor therefore ſent an archbiſhop, two biſhops, two doctors, and his chancellor, as ambaſſadors to Piſa, to prove by learned arguments, that the cardinals ought not to depoſe Gregory. But theſe ambaſſadors finding they could make no converts to their opinion, and that the cardinals, attached to Winceſlaus, would not even acknowledge their maſter as emperor, appealed from the council of Piſa to an œcumenical council, and retired without taking leave. The cardinals however proceeded to the depoſition of the two popes, and A.D. 1412.

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raiſed to the apoſtolic chair Alexander V. by which means the ſchiſm was increaſed, there being now three popes inſtead of two [9].

A.D. 1411. ROBERT died ſoon after this pious negociation, and before he was able to ſettle the affairs of the Holy See. He was ſucceeded in the empire by Sigiſmund, brother to the depoſed Winceſlaus, and king of Hungary; a prince of experience and abilities, and whoſe firſt care was to heal the wounds of the church. For this purpoſe, he convoked a general council at Conſtance, with the concurrence of pope John XXIII. ſucceſſor of Alexander V.

AT this council, where Sigiſmund appeared in all his glory, were preſent a prodigious number of cardinals, prelates, doctors; more than an hundred ſovereign princes; one hundred and eight counts; two hundred barons; and twenty-ſeven ambaſſadors from the ſeveral European courts, who all vied with each other in luxury and magnificence. There were alſo five hundred players on inſtruments, called in thoſe times Minſtrels; and ſeven hundred and eighteen courtezans, who were protected by the magiſtracy [10].

A.D. 1414. IN the firſt ſeſſion the fathers of the council concluded, that nothing could ſo effectually contribute to re-eſtabliſh the union of the Church as the reſignation of the competitors for the papacy. John XXIII. who preſided in the council, aſſented to this opinion, and promiſed to renounce his title, provided Angelo Corrario, who had aſſumed the name of Gregory XII. and Peter de Luna, diſtinguiſhed by that of Benedict XIII. would imitate him in that act of ſelf-denial. This declaration was no ſooner made, than the emperor roſe from his chair, and ran and embraced the feet of his holineſs, applauding his Chriſtian reſignation.

He

He was alſo ſolemnly thanked by the patriarch of Antioch, in the name of the whole council. But John afterwards repented of this condeſcenſion, and, by the aſſiſtance of Frederick duke of Auſtria, fled from Conſtance in the night, diſguiſed in the habit of a poſtillion [11]. A.D. 1415.

This unexpected retreat at firſt diſconcerted the council, which John declared to be diſſolved in conſequence of his ſeceſſion; but they at length agreed, after many learned arguments, That a council is ſuperior to the pope; confirmed the ſentence of John's depoſition; decreed that no other pope ſhould be choſen without the conſent of the council; and that John, together with his competitors, Angelo Corrario and Peter de Luna, ſhould be for ever excluded from the papacy. Finding them thus determined, John thought proper to yield to the torrent, rather than run the riſk of worſe fortune in attempting to oppoſe it. He quietly acquieſced in the ſentence, and freely renounced the pontificate, the marks of which he immediately reſigned [12]. Soon after this reſignation, Gregory XII. ſent a legate to the emperor and council to renounce his title in the ſame manner; but the proud Spaniard, Peter de Luna, would not yield: he remained obſtinate to the laſt.

The affair of John Huſs came next upon the carpet. John, as has been already obſerved, had imbibed the opinions of Wickliffe, and converted to his own way of thinking an infinite number of people of all ranks. Among others, his doctrine was embraced by Jerome of Prague, a man of learning, whom he engaged as his colleague, and who propagated the new religion with great warmth. They had been ſummoned to appear before the court of Rome, but refuſed to obey the citation: they

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A.D. 1415.

condeſcended however to appear at the council of Conſtance, in order to juſtify the doctrine they profeſſed; and Huſs, being provided with a ſafe-conduct from the emperor, attempted to defend the articles of his faith before the fathers of the council, who ſeemed inclined to condemn him unheard, when the emperor deſired them to liſten to what Huſs had to ſay in his own defence. He was accordingly queſtioned in preſence of Sigiſmund, and accuſed of hereſy in thirty-nine articles; part of which he denied, and part he offered to defend: but his voice was drowned by the noiſe which was purpoſely made by the cardinals; and on his refuſing to abjure all the thirty-nine articles, he was immediately declared a ſower of ſedition, a hardened heretic, a diſciple, and defender of Wickliffe. As ſuch he was degraded by four biſhops, ſtripped of his ſacerdotal habit, and cloathed in a lay dreſs; his hair was cut in form of a croſs; upon his head was put a paper mitre, painted with the repreſentation of three devils, and he was delivered over to the ſecular judge, who condemned him and his writings to the flames, and fixed the day of his execution[13], when he died with great conſtancy.

After the execution of John Huſs, the council reſumed the affair of Peter de Luna, who ſtill obſtinately refuſed to quit his pretenſions to the papacy. On this occaſion Sigiſmund offered to go to Spain in perſon, and engage the mediation of Ferdinand king of Arragon, with whom Peter had taken refuge; by which means the emperor hoped to obtain a voluntary renunciation, like that of the other two, before the council ſhould proceed to extremity. He ſet out accordingly for Spain, accompanied by twelve deputies from the council; and on his arrival at Perpignan, he entered into a negociation with Benedict, otherwiſe Peter de Luna, the reſult of which was ſent to the council, though

though by no means anſwerable to his expectations. The obſtinacy of Benedict was inſurmountable, and incenſed the emperor to ſuch a degree, that he threatened to obtain by force that aſſent which the pope refuſed to grant by fair means; and Benedict, in conſequence of theſe menaces, retired to the fortreſs of Paniſcola, where he reſolved to preſerve his pontifical dignity to his lateſt breath. This unexpected flight deprived him of all his partizans: the king of Arragon, with all the princes and biſhops of his party, ſent deputies to the emperor at Narbonne, where it was agreed, that the council ſhould invite all the former adherents of Benedict to come to Conſtance, and join their endeavours for re-eſtabliſhing the peace of the church; and that, on their arrival, a new pope ſhould be choſen.

A.D. 1415.

A.D. 1416.

During the abſence of Sigiſmund, the trial of Jerome of Prague engaged the attention of the council. This man had repaired to Conſtance, with a deſign to aſſiſt John Huſs in making his defence; but perceiving he had nothing to hope from the clemency of the fathers, he reſolved to retire with all expedition into Bohemia. Being apprehended, however, upon the road, he was loaded with chains, and brought back to Conſtance; where, in order to avoid the puniſhment of fire, he ſolemnly abjured the opinions of Wickliffe and Huſs. But he afterwards eſpouſed the ſame doctrines, being aſhamed to ſurvive his maſter, who had encountered death with ſo much firmneſs, was condemned to the flames as a wicked apoſtate, and ſuffered with great fortitude [14].

Poggio the Florentine, ſecretary to pope John, and one of the firſt reſtorers of letters, who was preſent on this occaſion, ſays he never heard any thing that approached ſo nearly to the eloquence of the ancient Greeks and Romans, as the ſpeech which Jerome made

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made to his judges. "He ſpoke," exclaims Poggio, "like Socrates; and walked to the ſtake with as much "chearfulneſs, as that great philoſopher drank the "cup of hemlock!"

AFTER the return of Sigiſmund, the council pro-
A.D 1417. ceeded againſt Benedict for contumacy, when the definitive ſentence of his depoſition was pronounced. Their next care was the election of a new pope: and Otho Colonna, who poſſeſſed the accompliſhments of a prince, and the virtues of a prelate, was unanimouſly choſen on St. Martin's day, whence he took the name of Martin V. Never was the inauguration of any pontiff attended with greater pomp. He rode in proceſſion to the cathedral, mounted on a white horſe; the emperor and the elector of Brandenburg on foot, leading it by the reins. A numerous crowd of princes, the ambaſſadors of all the kings, and the fathers of the council, cloſed the train. When he entered the cathedral, the triple crown was placed upon his head, and he returned in the ſame auguſt manner [15].

THE important affair of the ſchiſm being thus con-
A.D. 1418. cluded, every thing elſe was regulated by the council, which broke up in its forty-fifth ſeſſion. The diſputes about religion, however, ſtill raged with greater violence than ever. The Huſſites in Prague were ſo much offended at being prohibited the cup in the ſacrament of the euchariſt (contrary, as they affirmed, to the expreſs words of our Saviour, who ſays, "Except ye eat the fleſh of the ſon of man, and drink his "blood, ye have no life in you!") that they raiſed a furious tumult, forced the town-houſe, and murdered the magiſtrates, who were concerned in publiſhing the order [16].

THE news of this maſſacre filled the court of Winceſlaus

ceſlaus with the utmoſt conſternation, and made ſo ſtrong an impreſſion on that puſillanimous prince, that he was ſeized with an apoplexy, of which he died in a few days. He was ſucceeded in the kingdom of Bohemia by his brother Sigiſmund, already emperor, and king of Hungary; yet this powerful prince was ſeveral times defeated by Ziſca, then general of the Huſſites, who revenged the death of their apoſtle by the moſt terrible outrages. LETTER XL.

A PARTICULAR account of the war between the emperor and the Huſſites, would interfere with more important matters, without anſwering any valuable purpoſe: I ſhall therefore only obſerve, that Ziſca continued maſter of Bohemia till his death, when he ordered a drum to be made of his ſkin, which was long the ſymbol of victory. He was ſucceeded in the command by Procopius, ſurnamed the Shaven, becauſe he had been a prieſt, and who ſupported his party with no leſs valour than his predeceſſor. He boldly defended their cauſe in the council of Baſil, where many things were diſputed, which it is of little conſequence for you to know: and though he was unſucceſsful in that negociation, and alſo in a battle with the catholics, in which he was mortally wounded, yet the Huſſites, even in this extremity, obtained a general amneſty, the confirmation of their privileges, and the right of uſing the cup in the communion; which, to them, was a kind of triumph [17]. A.D. 1424. A.D. 1433. A.D. 1434.

AFTER this pacification, Sigiſmund enliſted the Huſſites in his army, and led them againſt the Turks, who had made an irruption into Hungary, and were defeated with great ſlaughter by theſe hardy veterans. But though Sigiſmund had been ſo fortunate as to regain the affections of the Bohemians, he loſt it anew by attempting to tyrannize over their conſciences; and death only ſaved him from a ſecond revolt. He A.D. 1437.

LETTER XL.

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A.D. 1438.

nominated as his ſucceſſor in the kingdoms of Hungary and Bohemia Albert, duke of Auſtria, his ſon-in-law, who was recognized by theſe ſtates, and alſo raiſed to the empire. The houſe of Auſtria has ever ſince preſerved the imperial throne.

SIGISMUND, with many reſpectable qualities, was a narrow-minded bigot; and contrary to the dictates of ſound policy, as well as of humanity, was guilty of the moſt deteſtable of all tyranny, that of violence on the will. His wife Barbara is ſaid to have been a perſon of a more enlarged way of thinking, though not more to her honour. She denied a future ſtate, and held the ſupreme good to conſiſt in ſenſual delight; for which reaſon, ſhe ſet no bounds to her licentious amours after the death of the emperor: and when a certain lady of reputation mentioned to her the example of the turtle, which after having loſt its mate, never chuſes another, "Why" cried ſhe, "inſtance a bird "that lives in perpetual ſolitude, far from the habi-"tations of men, and of which we know little? Is "the example more forcible, or more fit for imitation, "than that of the pigeon and the ſparrow, birds al-"ways in our view, and whoſe loves and joys are in "continual ſucceſſion [12]?"

THE affairs of France now claim your attention.

LETTER

LETTER XLI.

FRANCE *from the Death of* CHARLES V. *to the Invaſion of that Kingdom by* HENRY V. *of* ENGLAND.

THE death of Charles V. of France, my dear Philip, which happened, as I have already obſerved, ſoon after that of Edward III. of England, and the youth of his ſon Charles VI. put the two kingdoms in a ſimilar ſituation. Both were under the government of minors: and the jealouſies between the three uncles of Charles VI. the dukes of Anjou, Berri, and Burgundy, diſtracted the affairs of France even more than the rivalry between the dukes of Lancaſter, York, and Glouceſter, the three uncles of Richard II. diſordered thoſe of England. But a particular account of theſe diſtractions would be inconſiſtent with my preſent purpoſe; which is only to delineate the great line of hiſtory, and make you acquainted with the more remarkable events, or ſuch as have a particular influence upon government or manners. In the reign of Charles VI. no enterpriſe of conſequence was undertaken, and government and manners were equally unknown. I ſhall therefore conſider the hiſtory of France, during this period, only as an introduction to the invaſion of that kingdom by Henry V. of England. LETTER LXI. A.D. 1379.

IN proportion as the king advanced in years, the factions were compoſed. His uncle the duke of Anjou died; and Charles himſelf, aſſuming the reins of government, diſcovered ſymptoms of genius and ſpirit, A.D. 1388. which revived the drooping hopes of his countrymen. But this promiſing ſtate of things was of ſhort duration. The unhappy Charles fell ſuddenly into a fit of frenzy, which

LETTER XLI.

A.D. 1392.

which rendered him incapable of exerciſing his authority; and tho' he partly recovered from this diſorder, he was ſubject to ſuch frequent relapſes, that his judgment was gradually impaired, and he became incapable of purſuing any ſteady plan of government [1].

THE king's firſt relapſe is ſaid to have been occaſioned by the following accident: the queen having married one of her maids of honour to a perſon of diſtinction, the nuptials were intended to be celebrated with great pomp at the palace of the queen-dowager, relict of Philip of Valois. Among other amuſements there was to be a maſquerade: a circumſtance which furniſhed five young noblemen with the extravagant idea of appearing as naked ſavages; and ſuch was the indelicacy of the times, that the king made one of the party. Their dreſs, which ſate cloſe to their bodies, was of linen covered with roſin, that, while hot, had been powdered with fur: and the ſecret was ſo well kept, that, when they appeared, they were not known, but their whim was highly applauded. The ducheſs of Berri laid hold of the king, ſeeing him robuſt and well made, and told him, ſhe would not let him go, till ſhe knew who he was. In the meantime the reſt began to dance; when the duke of Orleans, out of levity, making a feint of running a lighted torch againſt one of the ſavages, ſet his combuſtible habit on fire. The flame was quickly communicated to the reſt, and this ſcene of wanton mirth was inſtantly changed into ſorrow and diſtreſs. But in the midſt of their torments the maſks cried out continually, "Save the "king! ſave the king!"—And the ducheſs of Berri ſuddenly recollecting, that he muſt be the maſk that ſtood next her, immediately threw her robes over him, and wrapping them cloſe about him, put out the fire. One of the maſks, by jumping into a ciſtern of water, ſaved his life: the other four were ſo terribly burnt, that they died in two days; and the king was ſo much

affected with the fright, that it occaſioned a return of his diſorder, which afterwards generally attacked him four or five times a year to the end of his life [2]. LETTER XLI.

HISTORY ſcarcely affords any parallel of a court or country more corrupt, and at the ſame time more miſerable, than that of this unfortunate monarch and his ſubjects, in conſequence of his infirmity. The adminiſtration fell again into the hands of the dukes of Berri and Burgundy, who excluded the duke of Orleans, the king's brother, under pretence of his youth, from any ſhare in the government, and even from the ſhadow of authority. The caſe however was very different with regard to the ducheſs of Orleans: young, beautiful, and inſinuating, ſhe acquired ſuch an aſcendency over the king, that ſhe governed him at her pleaſure. Nay, what is more extraordinary, it was ſhe only that could govern him; for in the time of his malady he knew nobody elſe, not even the queen. Hence it was rumoured by the ducheſs of Burgundy, who envied her influence, that ſhe had bewitched the king; and in order to heighten the odium, it was inſinuated, that the duke of Orleans had alſo bewitched the queen [3]. That both were under the influence of enchantment is not to be doubted: but it was only that of youth, wit, and beauty, whoſe aſſiduities ſo often faſcinate the ſuſceptible heart; and, when unreſtrained by principle or ſentiment, lead it in the chains of looſe deſire.

WHILE things were in this ſituation the duke of Burgundy died. He was ſucceeded in the duchy by his ſon, John count of Nevers, who diſputed the adminiſtration with the duke of Orleans, now riſing into credit, and hoped to govern France as his father had done. Propinquity to the crown pleaded in favour of the latter: the former derived conſequence from his ſuperior power; the death of his mother having added the county A.D. 1424

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county of Flanders to his father's extenſive dominions. The people were divided between theſe contending princes; and the king, now reſuming and now dropping his authority, kept the victory undecided, and prevented any regular ſettlement of the ſtate, by the final prevalence of either party.

But at length the dukes of Orleans and Burgundy, ſeemingly moved by the cries of the nation, and ſwayed by the interpoſition of common friends, agreed to bury all paſt quarrels in oblivion, and to enter into a league of mutual amity. They ſwore before the altar to the ſincerity of this friendſhip: the prieſt adminiſtered the ſacrament to both of them; and they gave to each other every pledge that could be deemed ſacred among men. All this ſolemn preparation, however, was only a cover for the baſeſt treachery, deliberately premeditated by the duke of Burgundy. He had hired

A D. 1406. ruffians, who aſſaſſinated his rival in the ſtreets of Paris. The author of the crime was for ſome days unknown, as the aſſaſſins eſcaped, and the duke endeavoured to conceal the part which he took in it; but being detected, he embraced a reſolution ſtill more criminal, and more dangerous to ſociety: he openly avowed and juſtified the action [4].

This cauſe was brought before the parliament of Paris; and that tribunal of juſtice heard the harangues of the duke of Burgundy's advocate in defence of aſſaſſination, which he denominated tyrannicide, without pronouncing any ſentence of condemnation againſt this deteſtable doctrine [5]. The ſame queſtion was afterwards agitated before the council of Conſtance; and it was with difficulty that a feeble deciſion in favour of the contrary opinion, was obtained from thoſe fathers of the church, the miniſters of the Prince of Peace!

But

But the miſchievous effects of that tenet, had they been before anywiſe doubtful, appeared ſufficiently from the preſent incidents. The commiſſion of this crime, which deſtroyed all truſt and ſecurity, rendered the war implacable between the French parties, and cut off every means of peace and accommodation. The princes of the blood, combining with the young duke of Orleans and his brothers, made violent war on the duke of Burgundy; and the unhappy king, ſeized ſometimes by one party, ſometimes by another, tranſferred alternately to each of them the appearance of legal authority. The provinces were laid waſte by mutual depredations: aſſaſſinations were every where committed, from the animoſity of the ſeveral leaders; or, what was equally terrible, executions were ordered, without any legal trial, by pretended courts of judicature.

The whole kingdom was diſtinguiſhed into two parties, the Burgundians, and the Armagnacs; for ſo the adherents of the young duke of Orleans were called, from the count of Armagnac, father-in-law to that prince. The city of Paris, diſtracted between them, but inclining more to the Burgundians, was a perpetual ſcene of blood and violence. The king and royal family were often detained captives in the hands of the populace: their miniſters were butchered or impriſoned before their eyes; and it was dangerous for any man, amid theſe enraged factions, to be diſtinguiſhed by a ſtrict adherence to the principles of probity and honour.

During this ſcene of general violence, there aroſe into ſome conſideration a body of men, which uſually makes no figure in public tranſactions in peaceable times; and that was the univerſity of Paris, whoſe opinion was ſometimes demanded, and more fre-

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quently offered, in the multiplied diſputes between the parties. The ſchiſm by which the church was at that time divided, and which occaſioned frequent controverſies in the univerſity, had raiſed the profeſſors to an unuſual degree of importance; and this connexion between literature and religion, had beſtowed on the former a conſequence, which reaſon and knowledge have ſeldom been able to obtain among men. But there was another ſociety, whoſe ſentiments were ſtill more deciſive at Paris, namely the fraternity of butchers, who, under the direction of their ringleaders, had declared for the duke of Burgundy, and committed the moſt violent outrages againſt the oppoſite party. In order to counterbalance this power, the Armagnacs made intereſt with the fraternity of carpenters: the populace ranged themſelves on the one ſide or the other; and the fate of the capital depended on the prevalence of either party [6].

THE advantage which might be made of theſe confuſions, was eaſily perceived in England; and, according to the maxims which uſually prevail among nations, it was determined to lay hold of the favourable opportunity. Henry IV. who was courted by both the French parties, fomented the quarrel, by alternately ſending aſſiſtance to both: but his ſon, Henry V. impelled by the vigour of youth, and the ardour of ambition, determined to puſh his advantages to a greater length,
A.D. 1415. and to carry war into the heart of France. In conſequence of this reſolution he aſſembled a great fleet and army at Southampton, and invited all the military men in the kingdom to attend him. But before I ſpeak of the ſucceſs of that enterpriſe, I muſt ſay a few words, my dear Philip, of the reign of Henry V. prior to this period.

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ENGLAND *and* FRANCE, *from the Invaſion of the latter Kingdom by* HENRY V. *to the final Expulſion of the* ENGLISH, *with a ſhort Account of the more early Part of that* MONARCH'S REIGN.

THE precarious ſituation of Henry IV. with whoſe character you are already acquainted, had ſo much infected his temper with jealouſy, that he entertained unreaſonable ſuſpicions with regard to the fidelity of his eldeſt ſon; and, during the latter years of his life, he excluded that prince from all ſhare in public buſineſs. The active ſpirit of young Henry, reſtrained from its proper exerciſe, broke out in extravagancies of every kind: the riot of pleaſure, the frolic of debauchery, and the outrage of intoxication, filled the vacancies of a mind better adapted to the purſuits of ambition and the cares of government. Such a courſe of life naturally threw him among companions very unbecoming his rank, but whoſe irregularities, if accompanied with gallantry and humour, he ſeconded and indulged: and he was detected in many ſallies, which, to ſeverer eyes, appeared totally unworthy of his ſtation [1].

BUT the nation in general conſidered the young prince with more indulgence: they obſerved ſo many gleams of generoſity, ſpirit, and magnanimity breaking continually through the cloud, which a wild conduct threw over his character, that they never ceaſed hoping for his amendment; and the firſt ſteps taken by young Henry, after the death of his father, confirmed all thoſe prepoſſeſſions entertained in his favour. He called together his former companions; acquainted them

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them with his intended reformation; exhorted them to imitate his example; but ſtrictly prohibited them, until they had given proofs of amendment, from appearing any more in his preſence, while the wiſe miniſters of his father, who had checked his riots, were received with all the marks of favour and confidence. They found that they had unknowingly been paying the higheſt court to him [2]. The ſatisfaction of thoſe, who feared an oppoſite conduct, was augmented by their ſurpriſe; ſo that the character of the young king appeared brighter, than if it had never been ſhaded by any errors.

HENRY's firſt care was to baniſh, as much as poſſible, all party diſtinctions. The inſtruments of the preceding reign, who had been advanced from their blind zeal for the Lancaſtrian intereſts, more than from their integrity or abilities, gave place every where to men of more honourable characters; and virtue and talents ſeemed now to have a ſpacious field, in which they might diſplay themſelves to advantage. One party diſtinction however remained, which the popularity of Henry was not able to overcome. The Lollards, or diſciples of Wickliffe, were every day increaſing in the kingdom, and were become a formidable body, which appeared dangerous to the church, and even to the civil power.

THE head of this ſect was Sir John Oldcaſtle, lord Cobham, a nobleman who had diſtinguiſhed himſelf by his military talents, and who had, on many occaſions, acquired the eſteem both of the late and of the preſent king. His high character, and zeal for the new ſect pointed him out to Arundel, archbiſhop of Canterbury, as the proper victim of eccleſiaſtical ſeverity. He accordingly applied to the king for permiſſion to indict lord Cobham.

The

The generous nature of Henry was averſe from ſuch ſanguinary methods of converſion; but after trying all gentle means in vain, and finding that nobleman obſtinate in his opinions, he gave full reins to prieſtly vengeance againſt the inflexible ſectary. Cobham was condemned to the flames, but made his eſcape from the Tower before the day appointed for his execution. Provoked by perſecution, and ſtimulated by zeal, he was now incited to attempt thoſe criminal meaſures formerly imputed to him. The king was informed of his deſigns: his followers were every where perſecuted; and he himſelf, after a variety of diſtreſſes, was ſeized and hanged as a traitor, and his body was burnt on the gibbet, in conſequence of the ſentence pronounced againſt him as an heretic[3]. A.D. 1415.

THE Lollards being thus ſuppreſſed, Henry had leiſure to conſider the dying injunction of his father, not to let the Engliſh remain long in peace, which was apt to breed inteſtine commotions, but to employ them in foreign expeditions; by which the prince might acquire honour, the nobility, in ſharing his dangers, attach themſelves to his perſon, and all the reſtleſs ſpirits find occupation for their inquietude. The natural diſpoſition of Henry ſufficiently inclined him to follow his advice, and the civil diſorders of France, as you have already ſeen, opened a full career for his ambition. He accordingly ſet ſail from Southampton, the place of general rendezvous, and landed near Harfleur, at the head of an army of ſix thouſand men at arms, and twenty-four thouſand foot, moſtly archers.

HENRY immediately inveſted Harfleur; which was taken by aſſault, after a ſiege of ſix weeks, and the garriſon put to the ſword. The fatigue of this ſiege, however, and the unuſual heat of the ſeaſon, had ſo much

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much waſted the Engliſh army, that Henry could enter on no further enterpriſe, and was obliged to think of returning to England. He had diſmiſſed his tranſports, which could not ſafely anchor in an open road upon the enemy's coaſt; ſo that he lay under the neceſſity of marching by land to Calais, before he could reach a place of ſafety. A numerous French army of fourteen thouſand men at arms, and forty thouſand foot, was by this time aſſembled in Normandy under the conſtable d'Albert: a force, if rightly managed, ſufficient either to trample down the Engliſh in the open field, or to harraſs and reduce to nothing their ſmall army, before they could finiſh ſo long and difficult a march. Henry, therefore, prudently offered to ſacrifice his conqueſt of Harfleur for a ſafe paſſage to Calais; but his propoſal being rejected by the French court, he determined to make his way by valour and policy through all the oppoſition of the enemy: and that he might not diſcourage his army by the appearance of flight, or expoſe them to thoſe hazards which naturally attend precipitate marches, he made ſlow and deliberate journies [4].

But notwithſtanding theſe precautions, Henry was continually harraſſed on his march by flying parties of the enemy; and when he approached the Somme, he ſaw bodies of troops on the oppoſite bank, ready to obſtruct his paſſage. His proviſions were cut off; his ſoldiers languiſhed with ſickneſs and fatigue; and his ſituation ſeemed altogether deſperate. In this extremity, he was ſo fortunate as to ſeize an unguarded ford, over which he ſafely carried his army, and bent his march towards Calais. But he was ſtill expoſed to great and imminent danger from the enemy, who had alſo paſſed the Somme, and threw themſelves full in his way, with a deſign of intercepting his retreat. The

whole

whole French army was drawn up in the plains of Azincour, and poſted in ſuch a manner, that it was impoſſible for him to proceed on his march without coming to an engagement. A.D. 1415.

NOTHING in appearance could be more unequal than the battle, upon which the ſafety and fortune of Henry now depended. The Engliſh army was little more than half the number, which had diſembarked at Harfleur; and they laboured under every diſcouragement and neceſſity. The enemy was four times more numerous, headed by the Dauphin and all the princes of the blood, and plentifully ſupplied with proviſions. Henry's ſituation was exactly ſimilar to that of Edward at Creſſy, and of the Black Prince at Poictiers; and the memory of theſe great events inſpired the Engliſh with courage, and made them hope for a like deliverance from their preſent difficulties. The king alſo obſerved the ſame prudent conduct, which had been followed by thoſe great commanders: he drew up his army on a narrow ground, between two woods, which guarded each flank; and in that poſture he patiently waited the attack of the enemy.

HAD the French commander been able to reaſon juſtly on the circumſtances of the two armies, or to profit by paſt experience, he would have declined a combat, and have waited till neceſſity had obliged the Engliſh to advance, and relinquiſh the advantages of their ſituation: but the impetuous valour of the French nobility, and a vain confidence in ſuperior numbers made him hazard an action, which proved the ſource of infinite calamities to his country. The French archers, on horſeback, and their men at arms, advanced precipitantly on the Engliſh archers, who had fixed paliſades in their front to break the impreſſion of

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the enemy, and who ſafely plied them, from behind that defence, with a ſhower of arrows which nothing could reſiſt. The clayey ſoil, moiſtened by rain, proved another obſtruction to the force of the French cavalry. The wounded men and horſes diſcompoſed their ranks: the narrow compaſs in which they were pent, prevented them from recovering any order: the whole army was a ſcene of confuſion, terror, and diſmay; when Henry, perceiving his advantage, ordered the Engliſh archers, who were light and unincumbered, to advance upon the enemy, and ſeize the moment of victory. They accordingly fell with their battle-axes upon the French, who were now incapable either of flying or making defence, and hewed them in pieces without reſiſtance. Seconded by the men at arms, who alſo puſhed on againſt the enemy, they covered the field with the killed, wounded, diſmounted, and overthrown. Every appearance of oppoſition being now over, the Engliſh had leiſure to make priſoners; but having advanced to the open plain, they there ſaw the remains of the French rear guard, which ſtill maintained the form of a line of battle. At the ſame time they heard an alarm from behind. Some gentlemen of Picardy, having collected about ſix hundred peaſants, had fallen upon the Engliſh baggage, and were doing execution on the unarmed followers of the camp, who fled before them. On this alarm, Henry began to entertain apprehenſions from his priſoners: and he thought it neceſſary to iſſue general orders for putting them to death; but on diſcovering the truth, he ſtopped the ſlaughter, and great numbers of thoſe unhappy men were ſaved [5].

No victory was ever more honourable, or more complete than this of Azincour. The loſs of the French was incredibly great. The conſtable d'Albert, and ſeven

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ſeven princes of the blood were ſlain; five princes were taken priſoners, together with fourteen thouſand perſons of different ranks; and above ten thouſand Frenchmen were left on the field of battle[6]. Yet this victory, ſo fatal to France, was rather oſtentatious than uſeful to the conquerors, though their loſs was very inconſiderable. Henry was obliged to return to England, in order to raiſe a freſh ſupply of men and money; and it was not till after an interval of two years that any body of Engliſh troops appeared in France.

In the meantime France was expoſed to all the furies of civil war; and the ſeveral parties became every day more enraged againſt each other. The duke of Burgundy attempted to re-inſtate himſelf in poſſeſſion of the government, as well as of the perſon of the king; and ſome quarrels in the royal family enabled him to carry his ſcheme into execution. Bois Bourdon, favourite to queen Iſabella, hitherto an enemy to the Burgundian faction, having been accuſed by the count of Armagnac of a commerce of gallantry with that princeſs, had been put to the torture, and afterwards thrown into the Seine. The queen herſelf was ſent to Tours, and confined under a guard. After ſuffering theſe multiplied inſults, ſhe no longer ſcrupled to enter into a correſpondence with the duke of Burgundy; and as her ſon Charles, the Dauphin, was entirely governed by the faction of Armagnac, ſhe extended her animoſity even to him, and ſought his deſtruction with the moſt unrelenting hatred[7]. She had ſoon an opportunity of rendering her unnatural purpoſe in ſome meaſure effectual.

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The duke of Burgundy entered France at the head of a great army of Flemings, over-ran moſt part of the kingdom, and relieved the queen from her confine-

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ment. At the ſame time the duke's partizans raiſed a commotion in Paris, which always inclined to the Burgundian faction: the perſon of the king was ſeized; the dauphin made his eſcape with difficulty; great numbers of the Armagnac faction were inſtantly butchered; the count himſelf, and many perſons of note, were thrown into priſon; and the populace, deeming the courſe of public juſtice too dilatory, broke into the priſons, and put to death that nobleman, and all the other nobility who were there confined [8].

A.D. 1417.

A.D. 1418.

While France was thus rent in pieces by civil diſſentions, Henry having recruited his forces and finances, landed in Normandy at the head of twenty-five thouſand men, and carried every thing before him. When the pope's legate attempted to incline him towards peace, he replied, "Do you not ſee, that God "has led me hither as by the hand? France has no "ſovereign: I have juſt pretenſions to that kingdom: "every thing here is in the utmoſt confuſion: no "one thinks of reſiſting me. Can I have a more ſen-"ſible proof, that the Being who diſpoſes of empires "has determined to put the crown of France upon my "head? [9]"—Such has ever been the language of force; to which weakneſs, crawling in the duſt, has too often liſtened with an ear of credulity. Hence conquerors, while alive, have been conſidered as the ſons of gods, and the delegates of heaven; and after being conſigned to that earth, which they had deſolated, have themſelves been exalted into divinities!

But though Henry ſeemed ſo fully aſſured of the conqueſt of France, he was induced by prudential motives to negociate with his enemies. He made at the ſame time offers of peace to both parties: to the queen and the duke of Burgundy, on the one hand, who having poſſeſſion of the king's perſon, carried the appearance

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appearance of legal authority; and to the dauphin, on the other, who being the rightful heir of the monarchy, was adhered to by all men who paid any regard to the true intereſts of their country. Theſe two parties alſo carried on a continual negociation with each other; and all things ſeemed ſettled to their mutual ſatisfaction, when the duke of Burgundy was ſlain by the dauphin's party, in an interview at Montereau. A.D. 1419.

In conſequence of this act of barbarity, and the progreſs of Henry's arms, the queen, and the new duke of Burgundy, breathing vengeance for the murder of his father, concluded the famous treaty of Troye, by which the crown of France was transferred to the houſe of Lancaſter. The principal articles were, that Henry ſhould eſpouſe the princeſs Catharine; that her father, Charles VI. ſhould enjoy, during his life-time, the title and dignity of king of France; that Henry ſhould be declared and acknowledged heir of the monarchy, and be entruſted with the preſent adminiſtration of the government; that all the princes, peers, vaſſals, and communities of France, ſhould ſwear, that they would both adhere to the future ſucceſſion of Henry and pay him preſent obedience as regent, and that this prince ſhould unite his arms to thoſe of the French king and the duke of Burgundy, in order to ſubdue the adherents of Charles the *pretended* dauphin [10]. A.D. 1420.

A few days after the ſigning of this treaty, Henry eſpouſed the princeſs Catherine: he carried his father-in-law to Paris; he put himſelf in poſſeſſion of that capital; and he obtained from the parliament and the three eſtates a ratification of the treaty of Troye. He ſupported the duke of Burgundy in procuring a ſentence againſt the murderers of his father; and he turned his arms with ſucceſs againſt the adhe-

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rents of the dauphin; who, as ſoon as he heard of the treaty of Troye, took on him the ſtile and authority
A.D. 1421. of regent, and appealed to God and his ſword for the maintenance of his title. But notwithſtanding the bravery and fidelity of his officers, Charles ſaw himſelf unequal to his enemies in the field; and found it neceſſary to temporiſe, and to avoid all hazardous actions with a rival who had acquired ſo manifeſt a ſuperiority.

To crown all the other proſperities of Henry, his queen was delivered of a ſon, who was called by his father's name, and whoſe birth was celebrated by rejoicings no leſs pompous, nor leſs ſincere, at Paris than at London. The infant prince ſeemed to be univerſally regarded as the heir of both monarchies. But the glory of Henry, when near its height, was ſuddenly reſtrained by the hand of nature, and all his towering projects vaniſhed into air. He was ſeized with a malady which the ſurgeons of that age wanted ſkill to treat with judgment; namely, a fiſtula, which proved mortal.
A.D. 1422. When he found his end approaching, he ſent for his brother the duke of Bedford, the earl of Warwick, and a few more noblemen, whom he had honoured with his confidence. To them he delivered, in great tranquility, his laſt will with regard to the government of his kingdom and family. He left the regency of France to his eldeſt brother, the duke of Bedford; that of England, to his younger brother, the duke of Glouceſter; and the care of his ſon's perſon to the earl of Warwick [11].

Henry V. poſſeſſed many eminent virtues, and his abilities were equally conſpicuous in the cabinet and in the field. The boldneſs of his plans was no leſs remarkable than his perſonal valour in conducting them. He had the talent of attaching his friends by affability, and of gaining his enemies by addreſs and

and clemency. His exterior figure, as well as his deportment, was engaging; his ſtature, ſomewhat above the middle ſize; his countenace beautiful; his proportions elegant; and he excelled in all warlike and manly exerciſes [12]. A.D 1422.

In leſs than two months after Henry's death, his father-in-law, Charles VI. of France terminated his unhappy life. He had for ſeveral years poſſeſſed only the ſhadow of royalty; yet was this mere appearance of conſiderable advantage to the Engliſh: it divided the duty and affections of the French between the king and the dauphin, who was now crowned at Poictiers, under the name of Charles VII. Rheims, the uſual place of ſuch ceremony, being at that time in the hands of his enemies.

Catharine of France, Henry's widow, married ſoon after his death Sir Owen Tudor, a Welſh gentleman, ſaid to be deſcended from the ancient princes of that country. She bore him two ſons; the eldeſt of whom was created earl of Richmond, the ſecond earl of Pembroke. The family of Tudor, firſt raiſed to diſtinction by this alliance, afterwards mounted, as we ſhall have occaſion to ſee, the throne of England.

In conſidering with a ſuperficial eye, the ſtate of affairs between France and England at the acceſſion of Charles VII. every advantage ſeems to lie on the ſide of the latter kingdom; and the total expulſion of Charles appears an event which might naturally be expected from the ſuperior power of his competitor. Tho' Henry VI. was yet in his infancy, the duke of Bedford, the moſt accompliſhed prince of his age, was intruſted with adminiſtration; and whoſe experience, prudence, valour, and generoſity, qualified him for his high office, and enabled him both to maintain union

LETTER XLII.

among his friends, and to gain the confidence of his enemies. But Charles, notwithſtanding the preſent
A.D. 1422. inferiority of his power, poſſeſſed ſome advantages which promiſed him ſucceſs. As he was the true and undoubted heir of the monarchy, all Frenchmen who knew the intereſts, or deſired the independency of their native country, turned their eyes towards him as its ſole reſource: and Charles himſelf was of a character well calculated to become the object of theſe benevolent ſentiments. He was a prince of the moſt friendly and benign diſpoſition; of eaſy and familiar manners; and of a juſt and ſound, though not a very vigorous underſtanding. Sincere, generous, affable, he engaged from affection the ſervices of his followers, even while his low fortune might have made it their intereſt to deſert him; and the lenity of his temper could pardon thoſe ſallies of diſcontent, to which princes in his ſituation are naturally expoſed. The love of pleaſure often ſeduced him into indolence: but amid all his irregularities the goodneſs of his heart ſtill ſhone forth; and by exerting, at intervals, his courage and activity, he proved, that his general remiſſneſs proceeded neither from the want of ambition nor of perſonal valour [13].

SENSIBLE of theſe advantages on the ſide of Charles,
A.D. 1423. the duke of Bedford took care to ſtrengthen the Engliſh intereſt by freſh alliances with the dukes of Burgundy and Britanny; and obſerving the ardour of the Scots to ſerve in France, where Charles treated them with great honour and diſtinction, he perſuaded the Engliſh council to form an alliance with James I. their priſoner; to free that prince from his long captivity; and to connect him with England, by marrying him to a daughter of the earl of Somerſet, and couſin to the young king. The alliance was accordingly formed: James was reſtored to the throne of his anceſtors;

all

and proved, during his ſhort reign, one of the moſt illuſtrious princes that had ever ſwayed the Scottiſh ſceptre. His affections inclined to the party of France; but the Engliſh had never reaſon, while he lived, to complain of any breach of the neutrality by Scotland. He was murdered by his traiterous kinſman the earl of Athol, in 1437. LETTER XLII. A.D. 1423.

BEDFORD, however, was not ſo much employed in negociations, as to neglect the operations of war. He reduced almoſt every fortreſs on this ſide of the Loire; and the battle of Verneüil, in which the Scots and French were defeated, threatened Charles with the total loſs of his kingdom, when a train of ſingular circumſtances ſaved him on the brink of ruin, and loſt the Engliſh ſuch an opportunity of completing their conqueſts as they were never afterwards able to recall. A.D. 1424.

INSTEAD of taking advantage of the victory gained at Verneüil, the duke of Bedford was obliged to go over to England, in order to compoſe ſome diſſentions among the miniſtry, and to endeavour to moderate the meaſures of his brother, the Duke of Glouceſter, who had inconſiderately kindled a war in the Low Countries, and carried thither the troops deſtined for the reinforcement of the Engliſh army in France. The affections of the Duke of Burgundy were alienated, and his forces diverted by the ſame war. The duke of Brittanny returned to his allegiance under Charles. The French had leiſure to recollect themſelves, and gained ſome inconſiderable advantages. But the regent, ſoon after his return, raiſed the reputation of the Engliſh arms, by humbling the duke of Britanny, and reſolved on an undertaking which he hoped would prepare the way for the final conqueſt of France. A.D. 1426.

THE

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A.D. 1426.

A.D. 1428.

A.D. 1429.

THE city of Orleans was ſo ſituated between the provinces commanded by Henry, and thoſe poſſeſſed by Charles, that it opened an eaſy entrance to either; and as the duke of Bedford intended to make a great effort for penetrating into the ſouth of France, it was neceſſary to begin with the ſiege of this place, now become the moſt important in the kingdom. The French king uſed every expedient to ſupply the city with a garriſon and proviſions, and the Engliſh left no method unemployed for reducing it. The eyes of all Europe were turned towards this ſcene of action, where it was reaſonably ſuppoſed, the French were to make their laſt ſtand for maintaining the independency of their monarchy, and the rights of their ſovereign. After numberleſs feats of valour, performed both by the beſiegers and the beſieged, the attack was ſo vigorouſly puſhed by the Engliſh, though the duke of Burgundy had withdrawn his troops in diſguſt, that Charles gave over the city for loſt, and even entertained thoughts of retiring into Languedoc and Dauphiny with the remains of his forces, which were inſufficient to attempt the enemy's entrenchments, and of defending himſelf as long as poſſible in thoſe remote provinces. But it was fortunate for this gay prince, who lay entirely under the dominion of the fair, that the women whom he conſulted on this occaſion had the ſpirit to ſupport his ſinking reſolution. Mary of Anjou, his queen, a princeſs of great merit and prudence, vehemently oppoſed this meaſure, which ſhe foreſaw would diſcourage all his partizans, and ſerve as a general ſignal for deſerting a prince, who ſeemed himſelf to deſpair of ſucceſs: his miſtreſs too, the fair Agnes Sorel, who lived in entire amity with the queen, ſeconded all her remonſtrances, and threatened, if he thus puſillanimouſly threw away the ſceptre of France, that ſhe would ſeek in the court of England a fortune more correſpondent to her wiſhes. Love was able to rouſe,

rouſe, in the breaſt of Charles, that courage which ambition had failed to excite. He reſolved to diſpute every inch of ground with an imperious enemy; to periſh with honour, in the midſt of his friends, rather than yield ingloriouſly to his bad fortune [14]: and this reſolution was no ſooner formed, than relief was unexpectedly brought him by another female of a very different character. LETTER. XLII. A.D. 1429.

In the village of Domremi near Vaucouleurs, on the borders of Lorrain, lived a country girl of twenty-ſeven years of age, whoſe name was Joan d'Arc, and who in the ſtation of ſervant to an inn had been accuſtomed to tend the horſes of the gueſts; to ride them without a ſaddle to the watering-place; and to perform other offices which commonly fall to the ſhare of men ſervants. This girl, inflamed by the frequent accounts of the rencounters at the ſiege of Orleans, and affected with the diſtreſſes of her country, but more particularly with thoſe of the youthful monarch, whoſe gallantry made him the idol of the ſofter ſex, was ſeized with a wild deſire of bringing relief to her ſovereign in his preſent unhappy circumſtances. Her unexperienced mind, working day and night on this favourite object, miſtook the impulſes of paſſion for heavenly inſpirations; and ſhe fancied that ſhe ſaw viſions, and heard voices exhorting her to re-eſtabliſh the throne of France, and expel the foreign invaders. An uncommon intrepidity of temper made her overlook all the dangers which might attend her in ſuch a path; and the apprehenſion of her divine miſſion diſpelled all that baſhfulneſs ſo natural to her ſex, her years, and her low condition. She went to Vaucouleurs, procured admiſſion to Baudricourt the governor, and informed him of her inſpirations and intentions. Baudricourt obſerved ſomething extraordinary in the maid, or ſaw the uſe that might be made of ſuch an engine, and

LETTER XLII. A.D. 1429.

and ſent her to the French court, which then reſided at Chinon [15].

JOAN was no ſooner introduced to the king, than ſhe offered, in the name of the Supreme Creator, to raiſe the ſiege of Orleans, and conduct him to Rheims to be there crowned and anointed: and ſhe demanded, as the inſtrument of her future victories, a particular ſword, which was kept in the church of St. Catharine of Fierbois. The more the king and his miniſters were determined to give into the illuſion, the more ſcruples they pretended. An aſſembly of grave doctors and theologians was appointed to examine Joan's miſſion, and pronounced it undoubted and ſupernatural: the parliament alſo atteſted her inſpiration; and a jury of matrons declared her an unſpotted virgin. Her requeſts were now granted. She was armed cap-a-pee, mounted on horſeback, and ſhewn in that martial habiliment to the whole people. Her dexterity in managing her ſteed, thoug hacquired in her former ſtation, was regarded as a freſh proof of her miſſion; her former occupation was even denied: ſhe was converted into a ſhepherdeſs, an employment more agreeable to the imagination than that of an oſtler-wench: ten years were ſubſtracted from her age, in order to excite ſtill more admiration; and ſhe was received with the loudeſt acclamations, by perſons of all rank [16]. A ray of hope began to break through that deſpair in which the minds of men were involved. Heaven had now declared itſelf in favour of France, and laid bare its outſtretched arm to take vengeance on her invaders.

THE Engliſh at firſt affected to ſpeak with deriſion of the Maid and her heavenly commiſſion; but their imagination was ſecretly ſtruck with the ſtrong perſuaſion, which prevailed in all around them: they found their

their courage daunted by degrees; and thence began to infer a divine vengeance hanging over them. A ſilent aſtoniſhment reigned among thoſe troops, formerly ſo elated with victory, and ſo fierce for the combat. The Maid entered the city of Orleans at the head of a convoy, arrayed in her military garb, and diſplaying her conſecrated ſtandard. She was received as a celeſtial deliverer by the garriſon and inhabitants; and by the inſtructions of count Dunois, commonly called the Baſtard of Orleans, ſhe actually obliged the Engliſh to raiſe the ſiege of that city, after defeating them in ſeveral attacks. A.D. 1429.

THE raiſing of the ſiege of Orleans was one part of the maid's promiſe to Charles, the crowning him at Rheims was the other; and ſhe now vehemently inſiſted, that he ſhould ſet out immediately on that enterpriſe. A few weeks before ſuch a propoſal would have appeared altogether extravagant. Rheims lay in a diſtant quarter of the kingdom; was then in the hands of a victorious enemy; the whole road which led to it was occupied by their garriſons; and no imagination could have been ſo ſanguine as to hope that ſuch an attempt could poſſibly be carried into execution. But as things had now taken a turn, and it was extremely the intereſt of Charles to maintain the belief of ſomething extraordinary and divine in theſe events, he reſolved to follow the exhortations of his warlike propheteſs, and avail himſelf of the preſent conſternation of the Engliſh. He accordingly ſet out for Rheims at the head of twelve thouſand men, and ſcarcely perceived, as he paſſed along, that he was marching thro' an enemy's country: every place opened its gates to him: Rheims ſent him its keys; and the ceremony of his inauguration was performed with the holy oil, which a pigeon is ſaid to have brought from heaven to Clovis, on the firſt eſtabliſhment of the French monarchy [17].

LETTER XLII.

A. D. 1430.

CHARLES, thus crowned and anointed, became more reſpectable in the eyes of all his ſubjects; and he ſeemed to derive, from a heavenly commiſſion, a new title to their allegiance. Many places ſubmitted to him immediately after his coronation; and the whole nation was diſpoſed to give him the moſt zealous teſtimonies of duty and affection.

THE duke of Bedford, in this dangerous criſis, employed every reſource which fortune had yet left him. He acted with ſo much prudence and addreſs, as to renew his alliance with the duke of Burgundy, who had been long wavering in his fidelity. He ſeemed preſent every where by his vigilance and foreſight; and though his ſupplies from England were very inconſiderable, he attempted to reſtore the courage of his troops by boldly advancing to face the enemy: but he choſe his poſts with ſo much caution, as always to decline a combat, and to render it impoſſible for Charles to attack him. He ſtill attended that prince in all his movements, covered his own towns and garriſons, and kept himſelf in a poſture to reap advantage from every imprudence or falſe ſtep of the enemy. He alſo endeavoured to revive the declining ſtate of his affairs, by bringing over the young king of England, and having him crowned and anointed at Paris. All the vaſſals of the crown, who lived within the provinces poſſeſſed by the Engliſh, ſwore anew allegiance, and did homage to Henry [18]. But this ceremony was cold and inſipid, in compariſon of the coronation of Charles at Rheims; and the duke of Bedford expected more effect from an incident, which put into his hands the author of all his misfortunes.

THE Maid of Orleans, (as ſhe is called) after the coronation of Charles, declared that her miſſion was now accompliſhed, and expreſſed her inclination to retire

to

to the occupations and courſe of life which became her ſex; but Dunois, ſenſible of the great advantages which might ſtill be reaped from her preſence in the army, exhorted her to perſevere, till the final expulſion of the Engliſh. In purſuance of this advice, ſhe threw herſelf into the town of Compiegne, at that time beſieged by the duke of Burgundy, aſſiſted by the earls of Arundel and Suffolk. The garriſon on her appearance believed themſelves invincible. But their joy was of ſhort duration. The Maid was taken priſoner in a ſally; and the duke of Bedford, reſolved upon her ruin, ordered her to be tried by an eccleſiaſtical court for ſorcery, impiety, idolatry, and magic. She was found guilty, by her ignorant or iniquitous judges, of all theſe crimes, aggravated by hereſy: her revelations were declared to be inventions of the devil to delude the people; and this admirable heroine, to whom the more generous ſuperſtition of the ancients would have erected altars, was delivered over alive to the flames, and expiated by that dreadful puniſhment the ſignal ſervices, which ſhe had rendered to her prince and her native country [29].

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A.D. 1430.

A.D. 1431.

THE affairs of the Engliſh, however, inſtead of being advanced by this act of cruelty, went every day more and more to decay. The great abilities of the regent were unable to reſtrain the ſtrong inclination which had ſeized the French of returning under the obedience of their rightful ſovereign. The duke of Burgundy deſerted the intereſts of the Engliſh, and formed an alliance with the French king; the duke of Bedford died ſoon after; and the violent factions, which prevailed in the court of England, between the duke of Glouceſter and the cardinal of Wincheſter, prevented the Engliſh from taking proper meaſures for repairing theſe ſignal loſſes.

A.D. 1435.

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In proportion as Henry advanced in years, his character became more fully known in the court, and was no longer ambiguous to either faction. Of the moſt harmleſs, inoffenſive, ſimple manners, but of the moſt ſlender capacity, he was fitted, both by the ſoftneſs of his temper, and the weakneſs of his underſtanding, to be perpetually governed by thoſe who ſurrounded him; and it was eaſy to foreſee, that his reign would prove a perpetual minority. As he had now reached the years of manhood, it was natural to think of chuſing him a queen, and each party was ambitious of having him receive one from their hand, as it was probable this circumſtance would decide for ever the victory between them. The cardinal of Wincheſter proved ſucceſsful; and Henry was contracted to Margaret of Anjou, daughter of Regnier, titular king of Sicily, Naples, and Jeruſalem, deſcended from a count of Anjou, who had left theſe magnificent titles to his poſterity, without any real power or poſſeſſions. She was the moſt accompliſhed princeſs of her age both in body and mind; and ſeemed to poſſeſs thoſe qualities, which would enable her to acquire the aſcendant over Henry, and to ſupply all his defects and weakneſſes. The treaty of mar-
A.D. 1443 riage was ratified in England; and Margaret fell immediately into cloſe connections with the cardinal and his party; who, fortified by her powerful patronage, reſolved on the final ruin of the duke of Glouceſter [20].

This generous prince, worſted in all court intrigues, for which his temper was not ſuited, but poſſeſſing in an eminent degree the favour of the public, had already received from his rivals a cruel mortification, which he had hitherto borne without violating public peace, but which it was impoſſible that a perſon of his ſpirit could ever forgive. His ducheſs, the daughter of Reginald lord Cobham, had been accuſed of the crime of witchcraft; and it was pretended, that there was

was found in her poſſeſſion a waxen figure of the king, which ſhe and her aſſociates, Sir Roger Bolingbroke, a prieſt, and one Mary Jordan of Eye, melted in a magical manner before a ſlow fire, with an intention of making Henry's force and vigour waſte away by the like inſenſible degrees. The nature of this crime, as Mr. Hume ingeniouſly obſerves, ſo oppoſite to all common ſenſe, ſeems always to exempt the accuſers from obſerving the rules of common ſenſe in their evidence: the priſoners were pronounced guilty: the ducheſs was condemned to do public pennance, and to ſuffer perpetual impriſonment; and the others were executed. But the people, contrary to their uſual practice in ſuch marvellous trials, acquitted the unhappy ſufferers, and aſcribed theſe violent proceedings ſolely to the malice of the duke's enemies. The cardinal of Wincheſter, and his party, therefore became ſenſible that it was neceſſary to deſtroy a man whoſe popularity made him dangerous, and whoſe reſentment they had ſo much cauſe to apprehend. He was accuſed of treaſon, and thrown into priſon; where he was ſoon after found dead in bed; and though his body bore no marks of outward violence, no one doubted but he had fallen a victim to the vengeance of his enemies [21]. A.D. 1447.

WHILE England was thus a prey to faction, Charles employed himſelf, with great induſtry and judgment, in removing thoſe numberleſs ills, to which France had been ſo long expoſed, from the continuance of wars both foreign and domeſtic. He reſtored the courſe of public juſtice; he introduced order into the finances; he eſtabliſhed diſcipline among his troops; he repreſſed faction in his court; he revived the languid ſtate of agriculture and the arts; and in the courſe of a few years, rendered his kingdom flouriſhing within itſelf, and formidable to its neigh-

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A.D. 1453.

neighbours. The Engliſh were expelled from all their poſſeſſions on the continent, except Calais; and though no peace or truce was concluded between the two kingdoms, the war was in a manner at an end. England torn in pieces by civil diſſentions, made but one feeble effort more for the recovery of Guienne; and Charles occupied at home in regulating the government, and fencing againſt the intrigues of his ſon Lewis, ſcarcely ever attempted to avail himſelf of her inteſtine broils [22]. The affairs of the two kingdoms therefore become for a while diſtinct: but before I carry further the hiſtory of either, you muſt take a view of the ſtate of the German empire, from the death of Sigiſmund, till the acceſſion of Maximilian.

LETTER XLIII.

The GERMAN EMPIRE *and its Dependencies,* ROME, *and the* ITALIAN STATES, *from the Death of* SIGISMUND, *to the Acceſſion of* MAXIMILIAN.

SIGISMUND, my dear Philip, was ſucceeded in the kingdoms of Hungary and Bohemia, and alſo in the empire, as I have already obſerved, by his ſon-in-law, Albert II. duke of Auſtria. The only enterpriſe of moment in which this prince was engaged, during his ſhort reign, was an expedition againſt the Turks in Bulgaria; where he was ſeized with a violent dyſentery, before any action took place, and died at the village of Long, in his return to Vienna [1]. LETTER XLIII. A.D. 1438. A.D. 1439.

ALBERT was ſucceeded in the imperial throne by his couſin Frederic of Auſtria, the third emperor of that name. The kingdoms of Hungary and Bohemia were ſettled on Ladiſlaus, Albert's infant ſon, who was committed to the guardianſhip of Frederic.

THE emperor's firſt care was to heal the ſchiſm, which ſtill continued in the church. For this purpoſe he ſet out for Baſil, where the council was yet aſſembled, and had raiſed to the papacy Amadeus duke of Savoy, under the name of Felix V. in oppoſition to Eugenius IV. Frederick exhorted the fathers to concord, and an accommodation with Eugenius. He had alſo an interview with Felix, whom he refuſed to acknowledge for pope, though tempted by an offer of his daughter, a young princeſs of exquiſite beauty, and two hundred thouſand ducats as her portion. "This man," A.D. 1442.

LETTER XLIII.

ſaid Frederick to one of his courtiers, in a contemptuous tone, "would fain purchaſe holineſs, if he "could find a ſeller." The ſchiſm was at length, however, happily cloſed by the reſignation of Felix, who was prevailed upon by the emperor to abdicate the apoſtolic chair on certain conditions, which were confirmed by Nicholas V. who had ſucceeded Eugenius [2].

A.D. 1447.

THE peace of the church being thus reſtored, and the affairs of Germany in tolerable order, Frederic began to turn his eyes towards Italy, where the imperial authority was gone to utter decay. Alphonſo of Arragon reigned at that time in Naples, and joined the emperor, becauſe he feared the power of the Venetians, who were maſters of Ravenna, Bergamo, Breſcia, and Cremona. Milan was in the hands of Francis Sforza, a peaſant's ſon, but one of the greateſt warriors of his age, and now become the moſt powerful man in Italy. He had married Blanche Maria, natural daughter of Philip Maria Galeazo, duke of Milan, by whom he was adopted. Florence was in league with the pope againſt Sforza; the Holy See had recovered Bologna; and all the other principalities belonged to different ſovereigns, who had maſtered them [3]. In this ſituation were the affairs of Italy, when the emperor reſolved upon a journey to Rome, in order to be crowned by the pope, together with Eleanora, ſiſter to the king of Portugal, to whom he was contracted in marriage, and whom he promiſed to meet at Sienna.

A.D. 1451.

As ſoon as Frederic had croſſed the Alps, he was met by the Venetian ambaſſadors, who conducted him to their city, where he made his public entry with great magnificence. He thence repaired to Ferrara, where he found ambaſſadors from Francis Sforza, duke of Milan, inviting him to return by that city, where

where he ſhould receive the iron crown; and here too he received deputies from Florence and Bologna, craving the honour of entertaining him at their reſpective cities, which he accordingly viſited. From Florence he took the route of Sienna, where he was joined by the princeſs Eleanora: and in this city he gave audience to the pope's legates, who repreſented to him, that by ancient cuſtom, the emperors always took an oath to the pope before they entered the territories of St. Peter's Patrimony; and requeſted, that he ſhould conform to the ſame practice. A.D. 1452.

Frederic, in this particular, complied with the deſire of his holineſs. The oath which he took was conceived in theſe terms: "I Frederic, king of the Romans, promiſe and ſwear, by the Father, Son, and Holy Ghoſt, by the wood of the vivifying croſs, and by theſe reliques of Saints, that if, by permiſſion of the Lord, I ſhall come to Rome, I will exalt the holy Roman church, and his holineſs, who preſides over it, to the utmoſt of my power. Neither ſhall he loſe life, limb, or honour, by my counſel, conſent, or exhortation. Nor will I in the city of Rome, make any law or decree touching thoſe things which belong to his holineſs or the Romans, without the advice of our moſt holy lord Nicholas. Whatever part of St. Peter's Patrimony ſhall fall into our hands, we will reſtore to his holineſs: and he, to whom we ſhall commit the adminiſtration of our kingdom of Italy, ſhall ſwear to aſſiſt his holineſs in defending St. Peter's Patrimony to the utmoſt of his power. So help me God, and his holy Evangeliſts[4]."

The emperor now proceeded to Viterbo, where he was in danger of his life from a tumult of the people; ſo indifferently attended was this ſucceſſor of Charlemagne!

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A.D. 1451.

magne!—From Viterbo he repaired to Rome, where he was met by the whole college of cardinals; and as it had been cuſtomary for the late emperors, who went thither to be crowned, to continue ſome time without the walls, Frederic ordered tents to be pitched, and there paſſed one night. He made his public entry next day, when he was crowned king of Lombardy, notwithſtanding the remonſtrances of the deputies of Milan; he not chuſing to put himſelf in the power of Sforza, who was maſter of that city, and which properly belonged to the empire, the laſt duke having died without legitimate iſſue. Three days after this ceremony, he was married to Eleanora, and together with her received the imperial crown. The

A.D. 1452.

emperor and the pope next ratified the Concordata of the German nation, touching the collation of prelacies and other benefices, which had ſome years before been agreed to by cardinal Carvajal, Nicholas's legate at the imperial court [5].

HAVING thus tranſacted matters at Rome, Frederic departed on his return to Germany; and in his paſſage through Ferrara was waited upon by Borſi, marquis of Eſte, a prince of extraordinary merit, whom he created duke of Modena and Reggio [6]. On his arrival in Auſtria, he found himſelf involved in a number of difficulties; out of which he was never able fully to extricate himſelf.

THE Hungarians had often entreated Frederic to ſend home their king Ladiſlaus, whom he ſtill detained at the imperial court, under pretext of being guardian to that young prince. They had alſo, by the moſt earneſt and repeated inſtances, beſought him to reſtore their crown and regalia, which were in his cuſtody; but he found means, under various pretences, to poſtpone his compliance with theſe demands. The Auſtrians

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Auſtrians too, joined by a number of Bohemians, and encouraged by ſeveral princes of the empire, ſent a deputation to expoſtulate with him on the ſame ſubject; and as he likewiſe lent a deaf ear to their requeſt, and amuſed them with freſh evaſions, they had recourſe to arms, and compelled him to ſign an accommodation. It was agreed, that Ladiſlaus, being yet of too tender years to take upon himſelf the government of his kingdom, ſhould be put under the tuition of Ulric count Celley, his uncle by the mother's-ſide, and that the diſpute touching the wardſhip of the emperor ſhould be determined at Vienna [7]. A.D. 1452.

COUNT Celley's ambition was fired by the power which he derived from being tutor to Ladiſlaus. He attempted to make himſelf abſolute maſter in Auſtria: he ſecured the principal fortreſſes, by giving the command of them to his creatures; and gradually removed Eiſinger, a Bohemian gentleman who had headed the inſurrection, and the Auſtrian nobility, from all offices of importance. His friends and favourites only were truſted. The people were incenſed at ſuch proceedings; and Eiſinger, profiting by their diſcontent, rouſed their reſentment to ſo great a degree, that the count was obliged to retire into his own country, after having delivered up the perſon of Ladiſlaus, who conſented to take the oath impoſed upon him by the Bohemians, and was crowned with great ſolemnity at Prague [8]. A.D. 1453.

DURING theſe conteſts the city of Conſtantinople was taken by the Turks, after they had ſubdued the reſt of Greece; and by this blow the Roman empire in the Eaſt was utterly annihilated, as ſhall be related more at length in its proper place. Here it is only neceſſary to obſerve, that the progreſs of the Mahometans alarmed the princes of Chriſtendom, and made them think of uniting, though too late, in order to

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the common enemy. A diet was convoked at Ratiſbon on this ſubject, and the members unanimouſly agreed, that there was a neceſſity for taking ſome ſpeedy method to ſtop the progreſs of the Infidels: but what theſe meaſures ſhould be, was a conſideration referred to another diet aſſembled at Frankfort; where, tho' there was a vaſt concourſe of princes, and great appearance of zeal, very little was done for the common cauſe. Other diets were afterwards held for the ſame purpoſe, and with no better ſucceſs; which was chiefly owing to the timid and ſlothful diſpoſition of the emperor, who would never heartily embark in the undertaking [9].

A.D. 1455.

In the meantime Ladiſlaus king of Hungary and Bohemia died, and various competitors aroſe for thoſe crowns, as well as for the dominions of Upper Auſtria, which belonged to that prince. Among theſe was the emperor Frederic, who reaped nothing but damage and diſgrace from a civil war which deſolated Germany for many years, but which was productive of no event that merits your attention. His ſon Maximilian was more fortunate, and better deſerved ſucceſs.

This young prince, who was as active and enterpriſing as his father was indolent and timid, married at twenty years of age the only daughter of Charles the Raſh, duke of Burgundy; who brought him Flanders, Franche-Comté, and all the Low Countries. Lewis XI. who diſputed ſome of theſe territories, and who, on the death of the duke, had ſeized Burgundy, Picardy, Ponthieu, and Artois, as fiefs of France, which could not be poſſeſſed by a woman, was defeated by Maximilian at Guinegaſte; and Charles VIII. who renewed the ſame claims, was obliged to conclude a diſadvantageous peace [10].

A.D. 1492.

About

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About this time died Caſimir IV. king of Poland and father of Uladiſlaus, who now reigned over Hungary and Bohemia. The death of the Poliſh monarch was ſoon followed by that of pope Innocent VIII. who was ſucceeded in the papacy by Roderic Borgia, under the name of Alexander VI. Nor did the emperor Frederic long ſurvive theſe alterations. He died in the ſeventy-ninth year of his age, and the fifty-fourth of his reign: no emperor had ever reigned longer, and none leſs glorioufly.

A.D. 1492.

A.D. 1493.

The reign of Maximilian, already elected king of the Romans, forms a more intereſting period, my dear Philip, than that over which we have now travelled, and opens a viſta into ſome of the grandeſt ſcenes in hiſtory: but a variety of objects muſt occupy your attention, before I carry farther the affairs of the empire.

LETTER

LETTER XLIV.

ENGLAND *during the Conteſt between the Houſes of* YORK *and* LANCASTER, *and till its final Extinction in the Acceſſion of the Houſe of* TUDOR.

LETTER XLIV. A. D. 1450.

I have already had occaſion, my dear Philip, to notice the weakneſs of Henry VI. His incapacity appeared every day in a fuller light: the more he was known, the more his authority was deſpiſed; and as the Engliſh had abandoned their dominions in France, and were now engaged in no foreign wars, men of reſtleſs and ambitious ſpirits took occaſion to diſturb his government, and tear the bowels of their native country.

BUT the miſeries of Henry and of England did not ariſe alone from theſe cauſes: a pretender to the crown appeared; and a title, which had never been diſputed during the proſperous reign of Henry V. was now called in queſtion under his feeble ſucceſſor. This competitor was Richard duke of York, deſcended by his mother from Philippa, only daughter of the duke of Clarence ſecond ſon of Edward III. and conſequently ſtood in the order of ſucceſſion before the king, who derived his deſcent from the duke of Lancaſter, third ſon of that monarch.

SUCH a claim could not, in many reſpects, have fallen into more dangerous hands. The duke of York was a man of valour and abilities, which he had found frequent opportunities of diſplaying: in the right of his father, the earl of Cambridge, he bore the rank of firſt

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firſt prince of the blood: he poſſeſſed an immenſe fortune; and was allied by marriage, or otherwiſe, to moſt of the principal families in the kingdom. He was generally beloved by the people; whoſe diſcontents, at this time, rendered every combination of the great more dangerous to the throne. A.D. 1450.

ADMINISTRATION was now in the hands of the queen and the earl of Suffolk, who had attracted univerſal odium. Margaret was ſtill regarded as a French woman, and a latent enemy to the kingdom, who had betrayed the intereſts of England, in favour of her family and her country: Suffolk was conſidered as her accomplice; and the murder of the duke of Glouceſter, in which both were known to have been concerned, rendered them yet more obnoxious to the nation.

The partizans of the duke of York took advantage of theſe topics of popular diſcontent, to impeach the earl of Suffolk in parliament of various crimes and miſdemeanours; and the king, in order to ſave his miniſter, baniſhed him the kingdom during five years. But his enemies, ſenſible that he ſtill poſſeſſed the queen's confidence, and would be recalled on the firſt favourable opportunity, employed the captain of a ſhip to intercept him in his paſſage to France. He was accordingly ſeized near Dover: his head was ſtruck off on the ſide of a long boat, and his body thrown into the ſea [1].

THE duke of Somerſet ſucceeded to Suffolk's power in the miniſtry, and credit with the queen; and as he was the perſon under whoſe government the French provinces had been loſt, the people, who always judge by events, ſoon made him equally the object of their animoſity and hatred. In conſequence of theſe diſcontents, the houſe of commons preſented a petition to the king, pray- A.D. 1451.

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praying him to remove the duke of Somerſet for ever from his perſon and counſels; and as Henry fell about
A.D. 1451. this time into a diſtemper which increaſed his natural imbecillity, the queen and the council, unable to reſiſt the popular party, were obliged to yield to the torrent. They ſent Somerſet to the Tower, and appointed the duke of York lieutenant of the kingdom, with powers to open and hold a ſeſſion of parliament, and that aſſembly created him protector during pleaſure [2].

In the meantime Henry recovering from his diſtemper, ſo far as to be able to maintain the appearance of royal authority, his friends urged him to reſume the government; to annul the regency of Richard; to releaſe Somerſet from the Tower; and to commit the adminiſtration into the hands of that nobleman. The duke of York, ſenſible of his danger, levied an army, in order to ſupport his parliamentary commiſſion, but without advancing any pretenſions to the crown, though his title was generally acknowledged. A battle
A.D. 1455. was fought near St. Albans, where the Lancaſtrians were routed, and the dukes of Somerſet and Northumberland ſlain. The king himſelf was made priſoner by the duke of York, who treated him with great tenderneſs; and Henry was obliged to reſign (what he valued little) the whole authority of the crown into the hands of his rival [3].

Richard, however, did not yet lay claim to the royalty: he was ſtill content with the title of protector; and an outward reconciliation took place between the parties. A ſolemn proceſſion to St. Paul's
A.D. 1458. was appointed, in order to make known this amity to the people: the duke of York led queen Margaret; and a chieftain of one party marched hand in hand with a chieftain of the oppoſite. But a conteſt for a crown could not be thus peaceably accommodated: each party

ty watched only for an opportunity of ſubverting the other; and the ſmalleſt incident, without any formed deſign, was ſufficient to diſſolve the ſeeming harmony. Two ſervants of the rival houſes quarrelled; their companions took part in the fray; a fierce combat enſued; and both parties, in every county in England, openly made preparations for deciding the conteſt by arms [4].

A BATTLE was fought at Blore-heath, on the borders of Staffordſhire; where the Lancaſtrians were defeated, and chaſed off the field with conſiderable loſs. But that victory was not ſufficient to decide the fate of England; and fortune ſoon ſhifted ſides. When the two armies approached each other near Ludlow, and a general action was every hour expected, Sir Andrew Trollop, who commanded a choice body of veterans, deſerted to the king; and the Yorkiſts were ſo much diſmayed at this inſtance of treachery, which made every man ſuſpicious of his fellow, that they ſeparated without ſtriking a blow [5]. A.D. 1459.

IN this extremity the duke of York fled to Ireland, where he had formerly acquired much popularity; and his partizans in England kept themſelves every where in readineſs to riſe on the firſt ſummons from their leaders. That ſummons was given by the earl of Warwick, governor of Calais, the moſt extraordinary man of his time; and from the ſubſequent events, commonly known by the appellation of the *King-maker*. He landed in Kent, where he was joined by ſeveral perſons of diſtinction; and, as the people bore him an unlimited affection, his army increaſed every day. He entered London amid the acclamations of the populace: he advanced to meet the royal army, which haſtened from Coventry to attack him, and a battle was fought at Northampton, where the Lancaſtrians were totally A.D. 1460.

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A.D. 1460.

totally routed. Henry himſelf, that empty ſhadow of a king, was again made priſoner, and once more carried in triumph to his capital [6].

A PARLIAMENT was now ſummoned at Weſtminſter, where the duke of York ſoon appeared from Ireland, and put in his claim to the crown. He advanced towards the throne; and addreſſing himſelf to the houſe of peers, pleaded his cauſe before them as his natural and legal judges: he gave them a deduction of his title by deſcent; mentioned the cruelties by which the houſe of Lancaſter had paved its way to ſovereign power; inſiſted on the calamities which had attended the government of Henry; and exhorted them to return into the right path, by doing juſtice to the lineal ſucceſſor. Such a degree of moderation is ſcarcely perhaps to be met with in hiſtory; and was little to be expected in thoſe violent and licentious times, from a perſon who had a victorious army at his command. The peers, on their part, diſcovered an equal ſhare of firmneſs and compoſure. They called in ſome of the moſt conſiderable members among the commons, to aſſiſt in their deliberations; and after having heard, in ſeveral ſucceſſive days, the reaſons alledged for the duke of York, they declared his title certain and indefeaſible; but in conſideration that Henry had enjoyed the crown, without diſpute or controverſy, during a courſe of years, they determined that he ſhould continue to poſſeſs the title and dignity of king during the remainder of his life; that the adminiſtration of the government, in the meanwhile, ſhould remain with Richard; and that he ſhould be acknowledged the true and lawful heir of the monarchy. The duke acquieſced in this deciſion; and Henry himſelf, being a priſoner, could not well oppoſe it [7].

THE

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THE duke of York, however, enjoyed but a ſhort while the honour of this new ſettlement, and never attained the envied title of king. After the unfortunate battle of Northampton, queen Margaret had fled with her infant ſon to Durham, and thence to Scotland; but ſoon returning, ſhe applied to the northern barons, and employed every motive to procure their aſſiſtance. Her affability, inſinuation, and addreſs, talents in which ſhe excelled, aided by careſſes and promiſes, wrought a powerful effect on all who approached her. The admiration of her great qualities was ſucceeded by compaſſion towards her helpleſs condition: the nobility of that quarter entered warmly into her cauſe; and ſhe ſoon found herſelf at the head of an army of twenty thouſand men, collected with a celerity, which was neither expected by her friends nor apprehended by her enemies. A.D. 1460.

IN the meantime, the duke of York haſtened northward with a body of five thouſand men, to ſuppreſs, as he imagined, the beginnings of an inſurrection. He met the queen near Wakefield; and, though he found himſelf ſo much out-numbered by the enemy, his pride would not permit him to fly before a woman. He gave battle, was killed in the action; and his body being found among the ſlain, his head was cut off by Margaret's orders, and fixed on the gates of York, with a paper crown upon it, in deriſion of his pretended title. His ſecond ſon, the earl of Rutland, was taken priſoner, and barbarouſly murdered in cool blood by lord Clifford, in revenge of the death of his father, who had fallen in the battle of St. Albans. The earl of Saliſbury alſo was taken priſoner, and immediately beheaded, with ſeveral other perſons of diſtinction[9]. This inhuman practice, thus begun, was continued by both parties from a vindictive ſpirit, which affected to conceal its enormity under the pretence of retaliation. Dec. 24.

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IMMEDIATELY after this important victory queen Margaret marched towards London, where the earl of Warwick was left with the command of the Yorkiſts. On the approach of the Lancaſtrians, that nobleman led out his army, reinforced by a ſtrong body of Londoners, and gave battle to the queen at St. Albans. A.D. 1461. Margaret was again victorious, by the treachery of one Lovelace, who commanded a conſiderable body of the Yorkiſts, and withdrew from the combat: ſhe had the pleaſure of ſeeing the formidable Warwick fly before her, and of reſcuing the king, her huſband, from captivity.

BUT Margaret's triumph, though glorious, was of ſhort duration, and not altogether complete: Warwick was ſtill in poſſeſſion of London, on which ſhe made an unſucceſsful attempt; and Edward earl of Marche, eldeſt ſon of the late duke of York, advanced upon her from the other ſide, and was ſoon in a condition of giving her battle with ſuperior forces. She was ſenſible of her danger, in ſuch a ſituation, and retreated with her army to the North; while Edward entered the capital amid the acclamations of the citizens, and immediately opened a new ſcene to his party.

THIS young prince, who was remarkable for the beauty of his perſon, for his bravery, his activity, his affability, and every popular quality, found himſelf ſo high in public favour, that he reſolved no longer to confine himſelf within thoſe narrow limits, which had been found by experience ſo prejudicial to his father's cauſe: he determined to aſſume the name and dignity of king; to inſiſt openly on his claim; and thenceforth to treat the oppoſite party as traitors and rebels to his lawful authority. But a national conſent, or the appearance of it at leaſt, ſeemed neceſſary to precede ſo bold a meaſure; and for this purpoſe, inſtead

ſtead of convening a parliament, which might have been attended with dangerous conſequences, the populace were aſſembled in St. John's fields. An harangue was pronounced to this mixed multitude by Warwick, ſetting forth the title of Edward, and inveighing againſt the tyranny and uſurpation of the houſe of Lancaſter; after which the people were aſked, whether they would have Henry or Edward for their king. They univerſally exclaimed, "Edward of "York!"—and this popular election was ratified by an aſſembly of lords and biſhops, and the new king was proclaimed under the title of Edward IV [1°].

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A.D. 1461.

YOUNG Edward, now in his twentieth year, was of a temper well fitted to make his way through ſuch a ſcene of war, havock, and devaſtation, as was preſented before him. He was not only bold, active, and enterprifing, but his hardneſs of heart, and ſeverity of character, rendered him impregnable to all thoſe movements of compaſſion, which might relax his vigour in the proſecution of the moſt bloody deſigns upon his enemies. Hence the ſcaffold, as well as the field, during this reign, inceſſantly ſmoaked with the nobleſt blood of England. The animoſity between the two contending families was now become implacable; and the nation, divided in its affections, took different ſymbols of party. The adherents of the houſe of Lancaſter choſe, as their mark of diſtinction, the *red roſe*; thoſe of York aſſumed the *white*: and theſe civil wars were thus known over Europe by the name of the Quarrel between the Two Roſes.

QUEEN Margaret, as I have obſerved, had retired to the North. There great multitudes flocked to her ſtandard; and ſhe was able in a few days, to aſſemble an army of ſixty thouſand men. The king and the earl of Warwick haſtened with an army of forty thou-

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A.D. 1461.

ſand, to check her progreſs. The two armies met at Touton; and a fierce and bloody battle enſued. The bow, then commonly in uſe, was ſoon laid aſide, and the ſword decided the combat, which terminated in a total victory on the ſide of the Yorkiſts. Edward iſſued orders to give no quarter, and the routed army was purſued as far as Tadcaſter, with great bloodſhed and confuſion. Above thirty-ſix thouſand men are ſaid to have fallen in the battle and purſuit. Henry and Margaret had remained at York during the action; but learning the defeat of their army, and being ſenſible that no place in England could now afford them ſhelter, they fled with great precipitation into Scotland.

I MUST here ſay a few words of the ſtate of that country. The Scots, notwithſtanding the animoſity between the two nations, had never made any vigorous attempts to take advantage either of the wars which England carried on with France, or of the civil commotions which aroſe from the competition for the crown. James I. who was long a priſoner, as you have ſeen, in England, and who received his education there, avoided all hoſtilities with foreign nations. He was more laudably employed in civilizing his ſubjects, and turning them to the ſalutary reſtraints of law and juſtice. After the murder of this excellent prince, whoſe maxims and manners were too refined for the people whom he had to govern, the minority of his ſon and ſucceſſor James II. and the diſtractions incident on it, prevented the Scots from moleſting England. But when the quarrel between the houſes of York and Lancaſter was become abſolutely incurable, unleſs by the total extinction of one of the parties, James, who had now riſen to man's eſtate, was tempted to make uſe of that opportunity, in order to recover thoſe places which the Engliſh had conquered from his anceſtors. He laid ſiege to the caſtle of Roxburgh, and

and had provided himſelf with ſome pieces of cannon for that purpoſe; but one of them unhappily burſt, as he was firing it, and put an end at once to his life and his enterpriſe. His ſon and ſucceſſor, James III. was yet a minor; and the diſtractions common to minorities enſued in the government. The queen dowager, Anne of Guelders, aſpired to the regency; the houſe of Douglaſs oppoſed her pretenſions; ſo that Margaret, when ſhe arrived in Scotland, found there a people little leſs divided by faction, than thoſe from whom ſhe had fled. LETTER XLIV. A.D. 1461.

THE Scottiſh council, however, agreed to aſſiſt Margaret on her offering to deliver to them the important fortreſs of Berwick, and to contract her ſon in marriage with a ſiſter of James their king: and Margaret with her northern auxiliaries, and ſome ſupplies from France, ventured once more to take the field, and to make an inroad into England. But ſhe was able to penetrate no farther than Hexham; where ſhe was attacked by Lord Montacute, brother to the earl of Warwick, and warden of the Marches, who totally routed her motley army [11]. All who were ſpared in the field ſuffered on the ſcaffold. A.D. 1464.

THE fate of the unfortunate royal family, after this overthrow, was equally ſingular and affecting. Margaret fled with her ſon into a foreſt, where ſhe endeavoured to conceal herſelf, but was beſet during the darkneſs of the night by robbers, who deſpoiled her of her jewels, and treated her with the utmoſt indignity. She made her eſcape however, while they were quarrelling about the booty; and wandered ſome time with her ſon in the moſt unfrequented thickets, ſpent with hunger and fatigue, and ready to ſink beneath the load of terror and affliction. In this wretched condition ſhe was met by a robber with his ſword naked in

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A.D. 1464.

his hand; and ſeeing no means of eſcape, ſhe ſuddenly embraced the reſolution of truſting entirely to his faith and generoſity. "Approach, my friend!"—cried ſhe, preſenting to him the young prince;—"to you I com-"mit the ſafety of your king's ſon." Struck with the ſingularity of the event, and charmed with the confidence repoſed in him, the robber became her protector. By his means ſhe dwelt concealed in the foreſt, till ſhe found an opportunity to make her eſcape into Flanders: whence ſhe paſſed to her father in France, where ſhe lived ſeveral years in privacy and retirement[12]. Henry was leſs fortunate in finding the means of eſcape. He lay concealed during a twelvemonth in Lancaſhire; but was at laſt detected, delivered up to Edward, and thrown into the Tower[13].

THE youthful monarch, thus rid of all his enemies, reſigned himſelf freely to thoſe pleaſures and amuſements, which his rank, his time of life, and his natural temper, no leſs turned for love than war, invited him to enjoy. The cruel and unrelenting Edward lived in the moſt familiar and ſocial manner with his ſubjects: he was the peculiar favourite of the young and gay of both ſexes; and the beauty of his perſon, as well as the gallantry of his addreſs, which even in the humbleſt condition, would have rendered him acceptable to the fair, facilitated all his applications for their favour. But it is difficult to confine the ruling paſſion within the bounds of prudence: the amorous temper of Edward led him into a ſnare, which proved fatal to his repoſe, and to the ſtability of his throne.

THIS gay monarch, while in the height of diſſipation, had reſolved to marry, in order to ſecure his throne by iſſue, as well as by alliances; and he had caſt his eye on Bona of Savoy, ſiſter to the queen of France. The negociation was committed to the earl

of

of Warwick, who went over to Paris, where the princeſs then reſided: his propoſals were accepted, and the treaty was fully concluded. Nothing remained but the ratification of the terms agreed on, and the bringing of the princeſs over to England. Meanwhile the charms of lady Elizabeth Gray, one of the fineſt and moſt accompliſhed women of her time, had inflamed the amorous heart of Edward. Her huſband, Sir John Gray of Groby, had been ſlain in the ſecond battle of St. Albans, fighting on the ſide of Lancaſter, and his eſtate confiſcated; and when the king came accidentally, after a hunting party, to the houſe of her father, Sir Richard Wideville, to whom ſhe had retired, ſhe threw herſelf at his feet, and entreated him to take pity on her impoveriſhed and helpleſs children. LETTER XLIV. A.D. 1464.

THE ſight of ſo much beauty in diſtreſs ſtrongly affected the ſuſceptible Edward: love inſenſibly ſtole into his heart under the guiſe of compaſſion: he raiſed her from the ground with aſſurances of favour; and as his paſſion increaſed every moment by the winning converſation of Elizabeth, he ſoon found himſelf reduced to that poſture and ſtile of ſupplication which had been ſo lately hers. But all his ſupplications were in vain: ſhe obſtinately refuſed to gratify his paſſion; and the young and gallant monarch for once found a virtue which his fondeſt aſſiduities could not bend. Inflamed by oppoſition, and filled with veneration for ſuch honourable ſentiments, Edward loſt ſight of all things but love: he offered to ſhare his throne, as well as his heart, with the woman, whoſe beauty of perſon, and dignity of character ſeemed ſo well to entitle her to both; and the marriage was privately celebrated at her father's ſeat in Northamptonſhire [14]. A.D. 1465.

WARWICK, who was ſtill at Paris, no ſooner received intelligence of the king's marriage, than he returned to England, flaming with rage and indignation,

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A.D. 1465

at being employed in a deceitful treaty, and kept a ſtranger to the intentions of the man who owed every thing to his friendſhip. The king was ſenſible that Warwick had been ill uſed; but his pride, or falſe ſhame, prevented him from making an apology: that nobleman was therefore permitted to depart the court in the ſame bad humour that he came. The advancement of the queen's relations into offices of power and truſt, to the excluſion of thoſe of Warwick, whom ſhe regarded as her mortal enemy, heightened his diſcontent, and made him reſolve to ruin that king he had made.

In order to effect this purpoſe, Warwick drew over to his intereſt the duke of Clarence, the king's ſecond brother, by offering him in marriage his eldeſt daughter, and co heireſs of his immenſe fortunes. Many of the ancient nobility envied the ſudden growth of the Widevilles: they aſſociated themſelves with Warwick; who finding his own name inſufficient, and being chaſed to France, after ſome unſucceſsful ſtruggles, entered into a league with queen Magaret, his inveterate enemy. On his return to England, he was joined by the whole body of Lancaſtrians. Both parties now prepared for a general deciſion by arms; and a deciſive action was every moment expected, when Edward, finding himſelf betrayed by the marquis of Montague, and ſuſpicious of his other commanders, ſuddenly abandoned his army, and fled to Holland. Henry VI. was taken from his confinement in the Tower, and placed once more upon the throne; and a parliament, called under the influence of Warwick, declared Edward IV. an uſurper [15].

A.D. 1470.

But this revolution was only the effect of the giddyneſs of faction. Warwick was no ſooner at the helm of government, than his popularity began to decline, though

though he appears to have been guilty of no unpopular act; ſo fugitive a thing is public favour!—The king was emboldened to return. He landed at Ravenſpur, as Henry IV. had formerly done, upon a like occaſion; and tho' he brought with him only two thouſand men, he ſoon found himſelf in a condition to face the earl of Warwick, who had taken poſt at Barnet. The city of London opened its gates to Edward; who thus became at once maſter of his capital and of the perſon of his rival Henry, doomed to be the perpetual ſport of fortune. The arrival of queen Margaret was every day expected, whoſe preſence would have been of great ſervice to her party. In the meantime the duke of Clarence, Warwick's ſon-in-law, deſerted to the king, and carried along with him a body of twelve thouſand men. But Warwick was now too far advanced to retreat; and as he rejected with diſdain all terms of peace offered him by Edward and Clarence, he was obliged to hazard a general engagement. The battle was fought with great obſtinacy on both ſides. The two armies, in imitation of their leaders, diſplayed uncommon acts of valour, and the victory remained long undecided between them: but an accident threw at laſt the balance on the ſide of the Yorkiſts. Edward's cogniſance was a ſun, Warwick's a ſtar with rays; and the miſtineſs of the morning rendering it difficult to diſtinguiſh them, a body of the Lancaſtrians were attacked by their friends, and driven off the field of battle. Warwick did all that experience, conduct, or valour could ſuggeſt, to retrieve the miſtake, but in vain: he had engaged on foot that day, contrary to his more uſual practice, in order to ſhew his troops, that he was reſolved to ſhare every danger with them; and now ſenſible that all was loſt, unleſs a reverſe of fortune was wrought by ſome extraordinary effort, he ruſhed into the thickeſt of the engagement, and fell covered with a

A.D. 1471.

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A.D. 1471.

multitude of wounds. His brother, the marquis of Montague, underwent the ſame fate; and as Edward had iſſued orders not to give any quarter, a great and undiſtinguiſhed ſlaughter was made in the purſuit [16].

QUEEN Margaret and her ſon prince Edward, now about eighteen years of age, landed from France the ſame day on which this deciſive battle was fought. She had hitherto ſuſtained the ſhocks of fortune with ſurpriſing fortitude; but when ſhe received intelligence of her huſband's captivity, and of the defeat and death of the earl of Warwick, her courage failed her, and ſhe took ſanctuary in the abbey of Beaulieu, in Hampſhire.

ENCOURAGED however by the appearance of Tudor, earl of Pembroke, and ſeveral other noblemen, who exhorted her ſtill to hope for ſucceſs, ſhe reſumed her former ſpirit, and determined to aſſert to the laſt her claim to the crown of England. She accordingly put herſelf once more at the head of the army, which increaſed in every day's march, and advanced thro' the counties of Devon, Somerſet, and Glouceſter: but the ardent and expeditious Edward overtook her at Tewkeſbury, on the banks of the Severn, where the Lancaſtrians were totally routed and diſperſed. Margaret, and her ſon, were taken priſoners, and brought to the king, who aſked the prince, in an imperious tone, how he dared to invade his dominions. "I "came hither," replied the undaunted youth, more mindful of his high birth than his preſent fortune, "to revenge my father's wrongs, and reſcue my juſt "inheritance out of your hands." Incenſed at his freedom, inſtead of admiring the boldneſs of his ſpirit, the ungenerous Edward barbarouſly ſtruck him on the face with his gauntlet; and the dukes of Clarence and

Glouceſter, lord Haſtings, and Sir Thomas Gray, taking this blow as a ſignal for further violence, hurried the prince aſide, and inſtantly diſpatched him with their daggers. Margaret was thrown into the Tower, where her huſband Henry had juſt expired. Whether he died a natural or violent death is uncertain; though it is generally believed that the duke of Glouceſter killed him with his own hands [17]. LETTER XLIV. A.D. 1471.

THE hopes of the houſe of Lancaſter being thus extinguiſhed, by the death of every legitimate prince of that family, Edward, who had no longer any enemy that could give him anxiety or alarm, was encouraged once more to indulge himſelf in pleaſure and amuſement; and he recovered by his gay humour, and his eaſy familiar manners, that popularity which muſt have been in ſome degree impaired by the cruelties exerciſed upon his enemies. The example alſo of his jovial feſtivity, ſerved to abate the acrimony of faction among his ſubjects, and to reſtore the ſocial diſpoſition, which had been ſo long interrupted between the oppoſite parties. But though Edward was fond of pleaſure, he was not deaf to the calls of ambition; and a projected invaſion of France, in order to recover the dominions loſt under his predeceſſor, tended ſtill farther to increaſe his popularity.

THE proſpect of a French war has always proved a ſure means of uniting the people of England, and of making the parliament open their purſes. Edward received a conſiderable ſupply; and paſſed over to Calais with an army of fifteen hundred men at arms, and fifteen thouſand archers. He was attended by all his chief nobility; who, animated by former ſucceſſes, were eager to appear once more on the theatre of honour. But their ardour was damped, when they found, on entering the French territories, that their A.D. 1475.

ally,

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A.D. 1475.

ally, the duke of Burgundy, did not bring them the ſmalleſt aſſiſtance. That prince, tranſported by his fervid temper, had carried his troops to the frontiers of Germany, where they were employed in hoſtilities againſt the duke of Lorrain. Lewis XI. however, alarmed at the preſence of ſo warlike and powerful a monarch as Edward, propoſed an accommodation, and a truce was concluded on terms by no means honourable to France. Lewis ſtipulated to pay the king of England immediately ſeventy-five thouſand crowns, on condition that he ſhould withdraw his army, and fifty thouſand crowns a-year, during their joint lives [18].

THIS treaty reflected little honour on either of the monarchs: it diſcovered the imprudence of the one, and the puſillanimity of the other. But as Lewis made intereſt the ſole teſt of his honour, he thought he had over-reached Edward, by ſending him out of France on ſuch eaſy terms. The moſt honourable article, on the ſide of Lewis, was the ſtipulation for the liberty of Queen Margaret, who was ſtill detained in cuſtody by Edward. Lewis paid fifty thouſand crowns for her ranſom; and this princeſs, who had experienced ſuch a variety of fortune in the active ſcenes of life, paſſed the remainder of her days in tranquillity and privacy. Margaret ſeems neither to have poſſeſſed the virtues, nor been ſubject to the weakneſs of her ſex: and ſhe was as much tainted with the ferocity, as endowed with the courage of the age in which ſhe lived.

THE dark and unrelenting diſpoſition of Richard, duke of Glouceſter, the future ſcourge of England, began more particularly to diſcover itſelf after Edward's return from France. The duke of Clarence, by all his ſervices in deſerting Warwick, had never been able to regain the king's friendſhip, which he had forfeited by his former confederacy with that nobleman.

bleman. He had alſo the misfortune to offend his brother Gloceſter, who ſecretly conſpired his ruin. Several of his friends were accuſed and executed, under frivolous pretences, in hopes that his reſentment would betray him into meaſures, which might furniſh matter for an impeachment. He fell into the ſnare. Inſtead of ſecuring his own life againſt the preſent danger, by ſilence and reſerve, he was open and loud in aſſerting the innocence of his friends, and in exclaiming againſt the iniquity of their proſecutors. The king ordered him to be committed to the Tower; and he was ſentenced to die by the ſupreme tribunal of the nation for arraigning public juſtice, by maintaining the innocence of men who had been condemned in courts of judicature. The only favour which the king granted him was the choice of his death; and he was privately drowned by his own deſire, in a butt of Malmſey [19]: a whimſical choice, which leads us to ſuppoſe, that he was paſſionately fond of that liquor. A.D. 1478.

THE remaining part of Edward's reign was diſtinguiſhed by no remarkable events. He ſunk again into indolence and pleaſure; from which he was once more rouſed by the thoughts of a French war. While he was making preparations for that purpoſe, he was ſeized with a violent diſtemper, of which he died in the forty-ſecond year of his age. He was a prince of more vigour than prudence; and conſequently leſs fitted to prevent ills by wiſe precautions, than to remedy them after they took place. As a man he poſſeſſed many accompliſhments: his virtues were few; his vices almoſt the whole catalogue. A.D. 1483.

EDWARD IV. left two ſons; the prince of Wales, now Edward V. in his thirteenth year, and Richard duke of York, in his ninth. The duke of Glouceſter, their

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A. D. 1483.

their uncle, whoſe ſanguinary diſpoſition I have had occaſion to notice, was appointed regent by Edward's deſire, and choſen protector by his own artifices. He had already got the two young princes into his poſſeſſion, contrary to the will of their mother, who ſeemed ſtruck with a kind of preſage of their future fate; and his eye was fixed upon the throne, though not only the ſons of Edward, but thoſe of the duke of Clarence ſtood between him and it.

An attempt to exclude or deſtroy ſo many perſons poſſeſſed of a preferable right, appeared equally imprudent and impracticable. But a man like Glouceſter, who had abandoned all principles of honour and humanity, was ſoon carried by his predominant paſſion beyond the reach of fear or precaution; and having ſo far ſucceeded in his views, he no longer heſitated in removing the other obſtructions in his way. He ordered earl Rivers, the queen's brother, Sir Richard Gray her ſon, by her former huſband, and Sir Thomas Vaughan, who poſſeſſed a conſiderable place in the king's houſhold, and was firmly attached to his perſon, to be thrown into priſon, and executed without any form of trial. His next ſtep was to draw into his views the duke of Buckingham and lord Haſtings: with the firſt he ſucceeded; but the laſt remained firm in his allegiance to the children of Edward, who had ever honoured him with his friendſhip. His death was therefore reſolved upon; and for that purpoſe a council was ſummoned in the Tower, whither that nobleman, ſuſpecting no harm, repaired without heſitation.

Gloucester, on taking his place at the council board, appeared in the eaſieſt and moſt facetious humour imaginable; but making a pretence ſoon after to retire, as if called away by ſome other buſineſs, he returned knit-

knitting his brows, grinding his teeth, and ſhewing by frequent alterations of his countenance, ſome inward perturbation. A general ſilence enſued; every one dreading ſome terrible cataſtrophe, and all gazing with looks of doubt and anxiety upon each other. Richard at laſt relieved them from their awful ſuſpence. "What puniſhment do they deſerve," ſaid he, "who have conſpired againſt my life?"—"The "death of traitors," replied lord Haſtings. "Theſe "traitors," cried Richard, "are the ſorcereſs, my "brother's wife, and that witch Shore, his miſtreſs, "with others their aſſociates. See to what a condi-"tion they have reduced me by their ſpells and in-"cantations!" laying bare his arm, all ſhrivelled and decayed. The amazement of the council was increaſed, it being well known this infirmity had attended him from his childhood; and lord Haſtings, who, ſince Edward's death, had engaged in an intrigue with Jane Shore, was naturally alarmed at ſuch an accuſation. "Certainly, my lord," ſaid he, with ſome heſitation, "if they are guilty of ſuch a crime, they deſerve puniſhment."—"And do you, exclaimed, Richard, "reply to me with your *ifs*? You "know their guilt: you are yourſelf a traitor, and the "chief abettor of the witch Shore; and I ſwear by "St. Paul, that I will not dine before your head be "brought me!" He ſtruck the table with his hand: armed men ruſhed in at the ſignal: Haſtings was ſeized; hurried away; and inſtantly beheaded on a log of wood, which accidentally lay in the court-yard of the Tower[20].

RICHARD having thus got rid of the man he moſt feared, and thoſe who were moſt likely to oppoſe his views, ordered lord Stanley, the archbiſhop of York, the biſhop of Ely, and all the other counſellors of whom he was ſuſpicious, to be committed priſoners

to

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to the Tower; and, in order to carry on the farce of accuſations, he commanded the goods of Jane Shore to be ſeized, and ſummoned her to anſwer before the council for ſorcery and witchcraft: but as beauty was her only witchcraft, and converſation her moſt dangerous ſpell, no proofs were produced againſt her which could be received even in that ignorant age. Her perſecution, however, did not end here. Though framed for virtue, ſhe had proved unable to reſiſt temptation, and had left her huſband, a goldſmith in Lombard-ſtreet, to live with Edward, who ſolicited her favours. But while ſeduced from her duty by this gay and amorous monarch, ſhe ſtill made herſelf reſpectable by her other virtues. She never ſold her influence: her good offices, the genuine dictates of her heart, waited not the ſolicitations of preſents, or the hopes of reciprocal ſervices; to protect the oppreſſed, and relieve the indigent, were her higheſt pleaſures. All her amiable qualities, however, could not ſave her from the bitterneſs of ſhame, cruelly impoſed upon her by a tyrant. Richard ordered her to be tried in the ſpiritual court for adultery. The charge was too notorious to be denied: ſhe pleaded guilty; and was condemned to do public penance in a white ſheet at St. Paul's, after walking barefooted thro' the city. Her future life was long and wretched. She experienced in old age and poverty the ingratitude of thoſe courtiers whom ſhe had raiſed into favour: not one, of all the multitudes ſhe had obliged, had the humanity to bring her conſolation or relief. Her frailties as a woman, amid a court inured to the moſt atrocious crimes, were thought ſufficient to juſtify all violations of friendſhip towards her, and all neglect of former obligations; and ſhe was permitted to languiſh out her days in ſolitude and want [22].

So many acts of violence, exerciſed againſt all the neareſt connexions of the late king, prognoſticated the

the ſevereſt fate to his defenceleſs children; and after the murder of Haſtings, Richard no longer made a ſecret of his intention to uſurp the crown. As a colour to his pretenſions, he not only maintained, that his two nephews were illegitimate, but alſo his two brothers, Edward IV. and the duke of Clarence; that his mother had admitted different lovers into her bed, who were the fathers of theſe children; that their reſemblance to thoſe gallants was a ſufficient proof of their ſpurious birth; and that he alone of all her ſons, as appeared by his features, was the true offspring of the duke of York. The place choſen for promulgating this foul and impudent aſſertion was the pulpit, before a large congregation, and in Richard's preſence. Dr. Shaw, a ſycophant entirely at his devotion, was appointed to preach in St. Paul's, and having choſen for his text this paſſage, "Baſtard ſlips ſhall not thrive," he enlarged on all the topics which could diſcredit the birth of Edward IV. the duke of Clarence, and of all their children. He then broke out into a panegyric on the duke of Gloceſter, exclaming, "It is he who carries in his face, in his ſoul, the image of virtue, "and the marks of a true deſcent!"—And it was expected, as ſoon as the doctor had pronounced theſe words, that the audience would cry out, "God ſave "king Richard;" which would immediately have been laid hold of as a popular conſent, and interpreted to be the voice of the nation: but the audience kept a profound ſilence, and diſappointed both the protector and his preacher [22].

Richard, however, had gone too far to recede from his criminal and ambitious purpoſe. Another place was choſen for a popular harangue; a place where a popular ſpeaker never fails to perſuade, and where a voice may be obtained for any meaſure, however atrocious or abſurd. The citizens of London, with the

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A.D. 1483.

rabble at their heels, were aſſembled in Guildhall, where the duke of Buckingham addreſſed them in an eloquent harangue, ſetting forth the title and virtues of the protector, and "God ſave king Richard!" was at laſt returned by the mob. The ſentiments of the nation were now ſufficiently declared: the voice of the people was the voice of God: Richard was prevailed upon, though with ſeeming reluctance, to accept of the crown; and he thenceforth acted as legitimate and lawful ſovereign [23].

THIS ridiculous farce was ſoon followed by a ſcene truly tragical; the murder of the two young princes. Richard gave orders to Sir Robert Brakenbury, conſtable of the Tower, to put his nephews to death; but that gentleman refuſed to bear any part in the infamous office. The tyrant then ſent for Sir James Tyrrel, who promiſed obedience, and the government of the Tower was given him for one night. He choſe three aſſociates, whom he employed to execute his barbarous commiſſion, and conducted them, about midnight, to the door of the chamber, where the princes were lodged. They were in bed, and fallen into a profound ſleep. The ruffians ſuffocated them with bolſters and pillows, and afterwards ſhewed their naked bodies to Tyrrel, who ordered them to be buried at the foot of the ſtair-caſe, under a heap of ſtones [24]. Theſe circumſtances were confeſſed by the actors, in the following reign.

RICHARD having thus extirpated all whom he feared might diſturb his government, endeavoured to gain by favours thoſe whom he thought could give ſtability to his throne. Several noblemen received new honours; and lord Stanley was ſet at liberty, and made ſteward of the houſhold. But Richard's danger aroſe form a quarter whence he leaſt expected it. The duke of

of Buckingham did not think himſelf ſufficiently rewarded for his ſervices in promoting the uſurpation: he obſerved the general deteſtation of Richard; and by the advice of Morton, biſhop of Ely, he turned his eye towards the young earl of Richmond, now an exile in Britanny, as the only perſon capable of freeing the nation from the tyranny under which it groaned. A.D. 1483.

HENRY, earl of Richmond, was grandſon of Sir Owen Tudor and Catherine of France, relict of Henry V. By his mother he was deſcended from John of Gaunt, duke of Lancaſter, ſon of Edward III. and was the only remaining branch of that family, which had ſo long contended for the crown. In order to ſtrengthen his intereſt, a match was concerted between him and Elizabeth, eldeſt daughter of Edward IV. Money was ſent over to him, for the purpoſe of levying foreign troops; and the queen-dowager promiſed to join him on his firſt appearance, with all the friends and partizans of her family.

BUT ſo extenſive a conſpiracy, though laid on the ſolid foundations of good ſenſe and ſound policy, could not eſcape the jealous and vigilant eye of Richard. He ſoon received intelligence that his enemies, headed by the duke of Buckingham, were forming ſome deſigns againſt him. The duke, unable to reſiſt the force of Richard, was obliged to ſeek ſafety in retreat: he was diſcovered, condemned, and executed; and the other conſpirators, who had taken arms in different parts of the kingdom, when informed of this misfortune, deſpaired of ſucceſs, and immediately ſeparated themſelves [25]. Meantime the earl of Richmond appeared on the coaſt of England, with a body of five thouſand men; but hearing of the fate of Buckingham, and the diſperſion of his friends, he returned to the coaſt of Britanny.

LETTER XLIV.

A.D. 1484.

RICHARD thus triumphant in every quarter, and fortified by an unſucceſsful attempt to dethrone him, ventured at laſt to ſummon a parliament; a meaſure which his multiplied crimes, and flagrant uſurpation, had hitherto induced him to decline. The parliament had no choice left but to recognize his authority, and acknowledge his right to the crown. His ſon Edward, a youth of twelve years of age, was created prince of Wales: and the king paſſed ſome popular laws, in order to reconcile the nation to his government.

ALL Richard's other meaſures tended to the ſame object. His queen being now dead, he propoſed by means of a papal diſpenſation, to marry the princeſs Elizabeth, the true heir of the crown, and intended for the earl of Richmond if his enterpriſe had ſucceeded; and, ſtrange as it may ſound in civilized ears, the queen-dowager neither ſcrupled this alliance, which was very unuſual in England, and regarded as inceſtuous, nor felt any horror at the thoughts of marrying her daughter to the murderer of her three ſons and of her brother. But the earl of Richmond, alarmed at an alliance which muſt prove fatal to all his hopes, and encouraged by the Engliſh exiles, reſolved upon a new invaſion: all men of probity and honour, he was aſſured, were earneſt to prevent the ſceptre from being any longer polluted by that bloody and faithleſs hand which held it. In conſequence of theſe repreſentations, he ſet ſail from

A.D. 1485.

Harfleur, in Normandy, with a retinue of about two thouſand men, and landed at Milford Haven, in Wales. The Welſh, who conſidered him as their countryman, flocked to his ſtandard; and his cauſe immediately wore a favourable aſpect[26].

RICHARD, who knew not in what quarter he might expect the invader, had taken poſt at Nottingham, in the centre of the kingdom; and having given

ven commiſſions to different perſons in the ſeveral counties, whom he empowered to oppoſe his enemy, he propoſed in perſon to haſte, on the firſt alarm, to the place expoſed to danger. The Welſh governors had already deſerted to Henry. But the danger to which Richard was chiefly expoſed, proceeded not ſo much from the zeal of his open enemies, as from the infidelity of his pretended friends. Scarce any nobleman was ſincerely attached to his cauſe except the duke of Norfolk; and ſome, who had feigned the greateſt loyalty, were only watching for an opportunity to betray and abandon him. Among theſe was lord Stanley. He raiſed a powerful body of his friends and retainers in Cheſhire and Lancaſhire, but without openly declaring himſelf, his ſon being in the tyrant's power; and though Henry had received ſecret aſſurances of his friendly intentions, the armies on both ſides knew not what to infer from his equivocal behaviour, when they met at Boſworth, near Leiceſter Henry's army conſiſted of ſix thouſand men, Richard's of double that number; and he haſtened to decide by arms the quarrel with his competitor.

Soon after the battle began, lord Stanley appeared in the field, and declared for the earl of Richmond. This meaſure had a proportional effect upon both armies: it inſpired unuſual courage into Henry's ſoldiers; it threw Richard's into diſmay and confuſion. The intrepid tyrant, now ſenſible of his deſperate ſituation, caſt his eye acroſs the field, and deſcrying his rival at no great diſtance, attempted to decide the victory by a blow. He killed with his own hand Sir William Brandon, ſtandard-bearer to the earl: he diſmounted Sir John Cheney; and he was within reach of Henry himſelf, who declined not the combat, when Sir William Stanley broke in between them,

LETTER LXIV.

A.D. 1485.

and ſurrounded Richard with his troops. Though overwhelmed by numbers, he ſtill maintained the combat; and at laſt ſunk amid heaps of ſlain, who had fallen by his arm [27].—A life ſo infamous, it has been ſaid by Voltaire, and by Hume after him, did not merit ſo glorious a death; but every man ſurely merits what his qualities enable him to earn. Richard was a blood-thirſty tyrant, but he was brave, and he died as a brave man ſhould, with his ſword in his hand: he was brave to the laſt. It would have been indeed a matter of regret had he died in his bed, after diſturbing ſo cruelly the repoſe of mankind: but his death was ſufficiently violent, to prevent his life from becoming an object of imitation.

THIS battle was entirely deciſive; the king not only being ſlain, but the whole royal army totally routed and diſperſed. The victorious troops, in a tranſport of joy, beſtowed on their general the appellation of king; and "Long live Henry the Seventh!" was reſounded from all quarters with repeated acclamations. In order to give ſome kind of form to this military election, the ornamental crown which Richard wore in battle, was placed upon Henry's head: his title was confirmed by the parliament; and his marriage with the princeſs Elizabeth, which took place ſoon after, united the jarring claims of the houſes of York and Lancaſter [28].—Thus ended the race of the Plantagenets, who had ſat upwards of three hundred years upon the throne of England, and thus the civil wars, which had ſo long deſolated the kingdom.

WE muſt now return to the Hiſtory of France.

AUTHO-

AUTHORITIES

AND

OBSERVATIONS.

PREAMBLE.

THE familiar manner in which this hiſtory is written may ſeem to exclude the formality of notes; and the author has endeavoured to avoid it as far as poſſible, by placing them at the end of the volume. He at firſt intended to have omitted them altogether; but the advantages flowing from them are ſo many and great, that he was induced, on more mature reflexion, to alter his plan. Conſidering hiſtory merely as a matter of amuſement, they add double weight to every incident which they accompany; and conſequently make the narrative entertain more, by more ſtrongly affecting the mind. As atteſtations of facts, they are of the utmoſt conſequence in all diſputed points, and eſſential to ſatisfy the rational inquirer after truth. In ſuch a work as the preſent, they are further neceſſary, in order to direct the ſtudent in hiſtory to ſuch books as will yield him a more perfect knowledge of important events, than the moſt judicious compendium can afford.

In the following notes, however, the obſervations are ſhort and few, and the authorities as ſparing as accuracy will permit. Nothing is ſacrificed to an oſtentation of learning.

LETTER I.

The Fall of the Roman Empire, and the Settlement of the Barbarians Page 1

THE authorities in ſupport of this and the following letter are not referred to from the text. The ſubjects not being perfectly hiſtorical, did not ſeem to require it; and the courſe of years run over is ſo great, and the events conſidered ſo numerous, that the page muſt have become one cluſter of figures, if the general method had been purſued. The principal authors, however, conſulted in both letters ſhall be mentioned, as well as thoſe neceſſary to throw further light on the important ſubjects of which they treat.

AUTHORITIES.

Oroſius, Aurelius Victor, Ammianus Marcellinus, and Zoſimus, are principally to be depended on for the manners and tranſactions of the latter times of the Roman empire; and upon their facts the reaſonings in this letter are chiefly founded. The character of the Barbarians, in their original ſtate, is moſt perfectly delineated by Tacitus in his treatiſe *de Moribus Germanorum*; and, in later times, together with an account of their various inroads, by Jornandes, Priſcus, and Procopius, in their hiſtories *de Bell. Goth. Vandal.* &c. See alſo the Ancient Part of the *Univerſal Hiſtory*, vol. xix.

Among the modern authors who have reaſoned moſt accurately on theſe ſubjects, as connected with the fall of the Roman empire, may be ranked Puffendorf, *Introduct. Hiſt. Europe*; Boſſuet, *Diſcours ſur l'Hiſtoire Univerſelle*; Monteſquieu, *de la Grandeur de Romains, et de leur Decadence*; Ferguſon, *Eſſay on the Hiſt. of Civil Society*; and Robertſon, *Introd. Hiſt. Charles V.* See alſo *Obſervations Preliminaires*, &c. by the abbé Millot, prefixed to the Modern Part of his *Elémens d'Hiſtoire Générale*.

To theſe reſpectable names, the author is happy to add that of Mr. Gibbon, whoſe *Hiſtory of the Decline and Fall of the Roman Empire* has given ſuch general ſatisfaction; for although that work was not publiſhed in time to be of any ſervice to this, which was at the preſs before the other appeared, they fortunately correſpond (ſo far as Mr. Gibbon has come) as exactly as if the one had been a tranſcript from the other: and the corroborating teſtimony of ſo learned an hiſtorian cannot fail to have its weight with the reader.

OBSER-

OBSERVATION.

Certain readers may perhaps be ſurpriſed, that among the cauſes of the fall of the Roman empire enumerated in this letter, no notice is taken of that diviſion of the empire into Eaſtern and Weſtern, which took place on the death of Theodoſius, in the year 395; and which is mentioned by Priſcus, by Puffendorf, and even by Monteſquieu, as one of the cauſes of the final diſſolution of the Weſtern empire. But the author of this work is of opinion, that the re-eſtabliſhment of a court at Rome, and ſtill more its removal to Ravenna, together with the councils and the preſence of an able and active prince, whoſe particular intereſt it was to guard the Weſtern frontier againſt the incurſions of the Barbarians, muſt have been of more ſervice to Italy and the neighbouring provinces, than all the ſupport that could be expected from Conſtantinople. It is therefore, according to this hypotheſis, rather to the incapacity and indolence of the Weſtern emperors, co-operating with other cauſes, than to the political diviſion of the empire, that we muſt aſcribe its fall.

LETTER II.

The Syſtem of Policy and Legiſlation eſtabliſhed by the Barbarians on their Settlement in the Provinces of the Roman Empire p. 14

HAPPILY for the perſpicuity of Modern Hiſtory, the ſubject of this letter has been inveſtigated by the greateſt writers of the preſent, or perhaps of any other age, viz. Monteſquieu, *L'Eſprit de Loix*, liv. xxx. xxxi. Robertſon, *Introd. Hiſt. Scot.* and *Introd. Hiſt. Charles* V. Hume, *Hiſt. Eng.* append. i. Ferguſon, *Eſſay on the Hiſt of Civil Society*, part ii. ſect. 3, and part iii. ſect. 2. See alſo Macpherſon, *Introd. Hiſt. Brit.* &c. and Stuart's *Eſſay on the Britiſh Conſtitution.*

LETTER III.

The Continent of Europe, from the Settlement of the Modern Nations, to the Time of Charlemagne p. 20

1. GRegor. Turon. lib. ii. c. 27. The foundation of the French monarchy cannot reaſonably be placed higher than Clovis. Before his time, the poſſeſſions of the Franks in Gaul were both inconſiderable and precarious, and divided among a number of chiefs, or independent princes. He firſt united thoſe principalities, and put an end to the Roman dominion in that province.—The inquiſitive may conſult the Preface to Father Daniel's *Hiſtoire de France*, where they will find the ſubject fully diſcuſſed.

2. *Geſt. Franc.* cap. xv. Greg. Tur. lib. ii. cap. 31. Of the miracles ſaid to have been wrought on the converſion of Clovis, the author of this work ſays nothing, as he would not willingly perplex the ſtudent in hiſtory with ſuch ſupernatural nonſenſe. The lovers of the marvellous will find ſufficient food for their paſſion in Hincmar. *Vit. St. Remig.*

3. Iſidor. *Chron.* Greg. Tur. lib. ii. cap. 37.

4. Greg. Tur. lib. ii. cap. 41. *Hiſt. de France* par M. Chalons, tom. i.

5. Greg. Tur. lib. iii. cap. 3. *Geſt. Franc.* cap. 19.

Greg.

6. Greg. Tur. lib. iv. cap. 22. *Geſt. Franc.* cap. 29.
7. Fredeg. *Chron.* cap. xliii.
8. Adon. *Chron. Annal. Metenſ.*
9. Geddes's *Tracts*, vol. ii. See alſo Saavedra, *Corona Gothica.*
10. Iſidor. *Hiſt. Goth.* Ferreras, *Hiſt. Hiſpan.* Mariana, ib.
11. Rod. Tolet. *Hiſt. Arab.*
12. Ferreras, *Hiſt. Hiſpan.*
13. Ebn. Amid. *Hiſt. Chron. Hiſpan.* Raſes, *Hiſpan Illuſtrat.*
14. Caſſiod. lib. viii. Procop. *Bell Goth.* The lenity of the Oſtrogoths, on their firſt ſettlement in Italy, may be accounted for from two cauſes: partly from that poliſh which their manners may be ſuppoſed to have received during their intercourſe with the Romans, whom they had long ſerved as auxiliaries againſt the Huns and other barbarous nations; partly from the character of Theoderic, the conqueror, who being educated at Conſtantinople, and initiated in all the learning of the times, had afterwards diſcharged the office of conſul in that city, and appears to have retained a juſt admiration of the Roman laws and arts.
15. Paul. Diac. *de Geſt. Longob.* lib. ii. 16. Id lib. iii.
17. Ut ſupra, lib. v. 18. Meimb. *Hiſt. Iconoclaſt.*
19. Paul. Diac. lib. vi.
20. Anaſt. in *Vit. Greg.* II. Meimb. *Hiſt. Iconoclaſt.*
21. Sigon. *Reg. Ital. Append.* Greg. Tur. 22. Paul. Diac. lib. vi.
23. Erch. apud. Peregrin. in *Hiſt. Princ. Longob.*
24. Adon. *Chron. Annal.* Metenſ. 25. Sigon. *Reg. Ital.*
26. Leo Oſtienſis, lib. i. 27. Ducheſne, tom. iii.
28. Anaſtaſ. in *Vit. Steph.* III.
29. Leo Oſtienſis, lib. i. Many diſputes have ariſen concerning the nature of Pepin's donation, and ſome writers have even denied that ſuch a donation was ever made; but on comparing authorities, and obſerving the ſcope of hiſtory, the matter ſeems to have been nearly as repreſented in the text.

LETTER IV.

Britain, from the Time it was deſerted by the Romans, to the End of the Saxon Heptarchy p. 45

1. BEDE, lib. i. cap. 12. 2. See Macpherſon's *Introd. Hiſt. Brit.* &c. and Whittaker's *Anſwer* to that part of the work, where the queſtion is diſcuſſed with much learning and ingenuity.
3. Gildas. Bede. Gul. Mameſ. 4. Gildas. Bede.
5. *Chron. Sax.* 6. Bede. Nennius. Gildas. 7. Ut ſup. See alſo Uſher.
8. Alford. *ad. ann.* 449. The Saxons and Angles were originally different tribes; but at the time they landed in Britain, they were ſo much incorporated, as to paſs ſometimes under one name, ſometimes under the other. Hence the compound name of Anglo-Saxons, given them by ſome writers. Hengiſt and Horſa, according to Ethelwerd, (*Chron.* lib. i.) came from the original ſeat of the Angles, now Angel, in the duchy of Selſwick.
9. *Chron. Sax.* 10. Bede. Spelman, *Conc.*

LETTER V.

The Government, Laws, and Manners of the Saxons in Britain p. 54

1. TACIT. de *Morib. Germ.* cap. xi. See alſo Verſtegan, who confirms the juſtice of applying what Tacitus ſays of the Cimbri and other German

German nations, to the Saxons, though not known by that name during his time.

2. See Brady's *Treatise of Boroughs.* 3. Nithard. Spelm.
4. Hickes, *Dissert.* Wilkins. 5. Ut supra.
6. Spelm. *Gloss.* in verb. *Ord.*
7. Gul. Pict. See also Hume's *History of England*, Append. i. and Dr. Stuart's *Essay on the British Constitution*, where the reader will find a copious and accurate account of the Anglo-Saxon government and manners.

LETTER VI.

The Reign of Charlemagne, or Charles the Great, King of France and Emperor of the West p. 60

1. Eginhardus, in *Vita Caroli Magni.* 2. Sigonius. Anast. in *Vit. Hadriani.* Adon. *Chron.*
3. Leo Ostiensis. Monacho Engolismensis. See also the ancient part of the *Universal History*, vol. xix.
4. Eginhard. in *Vit. Car. Mag.*
5. Sigonius, p. 163. 6. Id. ib.
7. Eginhard. in *Annal.* 8. Id. ib. 9. Ut supra.
10. Eginhard. in *Vit. Car. Mag.* et *Annal.*
11. Id. ibid. See also Monach. Engol.
12. *Nov. Traité Diplom.*
13. Reg. Brumiens. ap. Bruck. *Hist. Philos.*
14. *Elémens d'Histoire Générale*, par M. l'abbé Millot, par. ii. tom. i.
15. Eginhard. in *Vit. Car. Mag.*
16. Anast. in *Vit. Leon.*
17. *Annal. Metens.* Adon. *Chron.* Eginhard. in *Annal.* Anast. in *Vit. Leon.*
18. Adon. *Chron.* Theophan. *Chronographia.* 19. P. Daniel.
20 Adon. *Chron.* Eginhard. in *Vit. Car. Mag.*
21. *Vit. Ludovici Pii.* 22. Eginhard. in *Vit. Car. Mag.*

LETTER VII.

The Empire of Charlemagne, and the Church, from the Accession of Lewis the Debonair, to the Death of Charles the Bald p. 80

1. Nithard. *de Dissentionibus Filiorum Ludovici Pii.* 2. *Vit. Ludovici Pii.*
3. Theophan. *de Reb. Gest. a Ludovici Pii.* 4 *Vit. Ludovici Pii.*
5. Nithard. ubi supra. 6. Thegan. *de Gest. Ludovici Pii.*
7. Ibid. 8. Ut supra.
9. *Elémens d'Histoire Générale*, par M. l'abbé Millot, par. ii. tom. i.
10. *Acta Exauctorationis Ludovici Pii.*
11. Nithard. *de Dissentionibus Filiorum Ludovici Pii.*
12. *Vit. Ludovici Pii. Annal.* Bertiniani. Theg. *de Gest. Ludovici Pii.* Adon. *Chron.*
13. *Vit. Ludovici Pii.*
14. Nithard. *de Dissentionibus Filiorum Ludovici Pii.*
15. *Annal. Metens.* 16. Nithard. *de Dissent. Fil. Lud. Pii.*
17. *Annal.* Bertiniani. 18. Ibid. 19. *Annal. Fuldens.*
20. *Annal.*

20. *Annal.* Bertiniani. *Chron. var. Antiq.* 21. Ibid.
22. *Annal.* Bertiniani. 23. Millot, ubi ſupra. 24. Ibid.
25. *Hiſt. de l'Egliſe Gallicane.* 26. Millot, ubi ſupra.
27. Ibid. See alſo *Annal.* Bertiniani. 28. *Lotharii Regis Geſt. Rom.*
29. Millot, ubi ſupra. 30. Ibid.
31. Ut ſupra. See alſo Fleur. *Hiſt. Eccleſiaſt.* 32. *Annal. Fuld.*
33. *Annal.* Bertiniani. 34. *Capit. Caroli Calvi.* 35. Lett. II. p. 16.

LETTER VIII.

The Normans or Danes, before their Settlement in France and England p. 98

1. LETTER VI. p. 67. 2. See the *Edda*, or Syſtem of Runic Mythology, and Olaus Wormius, in *Literatura Runica.*
3. Nithard. de *Diſſent. Fil. Lud. Pii*, lib. ii.
4. *Elémens d'Hiſtoire Générale*, par M. l'abbé Millot, par. ii. tom. i.

LETTER IX.

England, from the End of the Saxon Heptarchy, to the Death of Alfred the Great p. 101

1. CHRON. *Sax.* p. 72. 2. Alured Beverl. p. 108. 3. *Chron. Sax.* p. 74
4. Selden's *Hiſtory of Tythes*, c. viii.
5. *Chron. Sax.* p. 84. Alured Beverl. p. 105. 6. Aſſer. p. 9.
7. *Chron. Sax.* p. 85. Gul. Mameſ. lib. ii. cap. iv.
8. Aſſer. p. 20. *Chron. Sax.* p. 86.
9. Gul. Malmſburienſis, lib ii. cap. iv.
10. Ibid. See alſo *Chron. Sax.* Simeon Dunelm. Alured Beverl, &c.
11. Aſſer. p. 10. *Chron. Sax.* p. 90. 12. Ibid.
13. Spelman's *Life of Alfred*, p. 147.
14. Aſſer. p. 11. *Chron. Sax.* p. 87.
15. *Fœdus Alfred.* et Gothurn, cap. iii. apud Wilkins. 16. Leg. Edw. cap. ii. 17. Spelm. *Gloſſ.* in voc. *Wapentake.* 18. Lett. V. p. 56. 19. Ingulph. 870. 20. Brompton, p. 814. 21. Gul. Malmſ. lib. ii. cap. iv. 22. Aſſer. p. 24.
23 Ibid. A hyde contained land ſufficient to employ one plough. Gervaſe of Tilbury ſays, it commonly conſiſted of about an hundred acres.
24. Gul. Malm. lib. ii. cap. iv. 25. Id. ib. 26. Hume.

LETTER X.

The Empire of Charlemagne and the Church, from the Death of Charles the Bald, to the Death of Lewis IV. *when the Imperial Dignity was tranſlated from the French to the Germans.* p. 115

1. AIMON. *Chron.* lib. v. 2. Id. ibid. 3. Ut ſupra.
4. Reginon *Chron.* 5. *Chron. de Geſt. Norm.* 6. Monach.
7. *Chron. var. Antiq.* 8. *Annal. Fuldenſ.* 9. *Annal. Mutenſ.*
10. Reginon. *Chron.*

11 Ori-

11. *Origines des Dignitez et Magiſtrats de France*, par Fauchet. 12. Ib. 13. *L'Eſprit des Loix*, liv. xxx c. xi. See alſo Robertſon's *Introd. Hiſt. Charles* V. Note ix. and the Authorities there cited.

14. When he came to the laſt part of the ceremony, which was that of kneeling, and ſeeming to kiſs the king's feet, he poſitively refuſed to go any farther; and it was with much difficulty that he could be perſuaded to make that compliment, even by one of his captains. At length, however, he agreed to the propoſal. But all the Normans, it ſeems, were bad courtiers; for the captain commiſſioned to repreſent Rollo, deſpiſing ſo unwarlike a prince as Charles, caught his majeſty by the foot, and pretending to carry it to his mouth, that he might kiſs it, overturned both him and his chair, before all his nobility. This inſult was paſſed over as an accident, becauſe the French nation was in no condition to revenge it. Gul. Gemet. *Chron. des Ducs de Normandie.* See alſo Fauchet. Du Tillet. Le Gendre.

15. Dudon. *de Moribus et Actis Norm. Duc.* 16. *Annal. Metenſ.*

LETTER XI.

The German Empire, from the Election of Conrad I. *to the Death of Henry the Fowler* p. 122

1. SEE before, Lett. X. p. 118. 2. Barre, *Hiſt. d'Allemagne*, tom. iii. p. 285. 3. *Ann. Hildeſt.* 4. *Annal. Saxon.* ad An. 927. 5. Engelhuſius, p. 174. 6. *Ann. Witichind.*

LETTER XII.

France, from the Settlement of the Normans, to the Extinction of the Carlovingian Race p. 127

1. FLodoardi *Chron. Append.* 2. Monach. 3. Glab. *Hiſt. ſui Temp.* 4. Flod. *Chron.* 5. Aimon. lib. v. 6. Flod. *Chron.* Fauchet. Du Tillet. Le Gendre. 7. Aimon. lib. v. 8. Id. ibid. 9. Adon. *Chron.*

LETTER XIII.

The German Empire, and its Dependencies, Rome and the Italian States, under Otho the Great, and his Succeſſors of the Houſe of Saxony p. 131

1. HEISS, lib. ii. 2. Ditmar. lib. i. Dubravius, *Hiſt. Bohem.* 3. Sigeb. 4. Barre, *Hiſt. d'Allemagne*, tom. iii. 5. Ment. *Hiſt.* par. iii. c. v. 6. *Ann.* Trever. Flodoard lib. iv. 7. *Ann. Saxon.* 8. Flodoard. lib. iv. 9. *Annal. Germ.* ex Meib. Wit. *Annal.* lib. iii. 10. Sigon lib. vi. 11. Didmar. lib. ii. Luit prand. lib. v. cap. vi. 12. Fr. Hen. Bod. Synt. ex Meib.

13 *Exemplar Diplom. Orbon.* apud Baron. An authentic inſtrument of this deed, written in letters of gold, is ſtill preſerved in the caſtle of St. Angelo. It is dated the 13th of February, 962.

14. Sigon. lib. vii. 15. Luitprand. lib. vi. 16. Extract. in Gratina. 17. Sigon. lib. vii 18. Id. ibid. 19. Barre, *Hiſt. d'Allemagne*, tom. iii. 20. Sigon. lib. vii. 21. Id. ibid. 22. Leo Oſtienſis,

lib. ii. 23. *Modern Univerſal Hiſt.* vol. x. p. 639, fol. edit. 24. Heiſs, *Hiſt. de l'Emp.* tom. i. 25. Baronius. 26. *Hiſt. de l'Egliſe*, par. Bened. Prelat. 27. Barre, ubi ſupra. 28. Muratori, *Anecd.* tom. ii. *Annal. de l'Emp.* tom. i. 29. Ut ſupra. 30. Barre, tom. iii.

LETTER XIV.

England from the Death of Alfred, to the Reign of Canute the Great p. 145

1. *Chron. Sax.* 2. Hoveden. 3. Brompton. 4. Gul. Malm. lib. ii. 5. Id. ibid. 6. Hoveden. 7. Oſberne, in *Anglia ſacra*, vol. ii. 8. Id. ibid. 9. Spell. *Conc* vol. i. 10. *Chron. Sax.* 11. Gul. Malm. lib ii. 12. Oſberne, ubi ſupra. 13. Brompton. 14. Spell. ubi ſupra. 15. Gul. Malm. lib. ii. 16. Idem. ib. 17. Brompton. 18. *Chron. Sax.* 19. Ibid. 20. Walingford. This writer, in contradiction to moſt of our old Engliſh hiſtorians, who repreſent the maſſacre of the Danes as univerſal, ſays that it conſiſted only of a military body in the pay of the king, diſperſed over the country; become inſolent in an uncommon degree, and in ſome meaſure maſters of the kingdom, which, inſtead of protecting, they often ravaged in conjunction with the foreign Danes. At this diſtance of time it is impoſſible to ſettle the matter with certainty; but as the kingdoms of Northumberland and Eaſt Anglia were entirely peopled by Danes, Walingford's account ſeems moſt probable. 21. Higden. 22. *Chron. Sax.* 23. Ibid.

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1. GLAB. *Hiſt. ſui Temp.* 2. Id. ibid. 3. Sigeberti, *Chron.* 4. Id. ibid. 5. Glab. *Hiſt. ſui Temp.* 6. Amon. *Hiſt.* lib. v. 7. Id. ibid. 8. Glab. *Hiſt. ſui Temp.* 9. Helgaldus. 10. Gul. Gemeticen. lib. vi. 11. Id. ibid. 12. Ut ſupra. 13. *Frag. Hiſt. Franc.* Gul. Malm.

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1. GUL. Malm. 2. Ibid. 3. Higden. 4. Gul. Malm. 5. *Chron. Sax.* 6. Sim. Dun. 7. Gul. Malm. Buchanan. 8. H. Hunt. Hoveden. *Chron. Mailr.* 9. Ord. Vitalis. 10. Gul. Pict. Ord. Vital. Gul. Malm. 11. Gul. Malm. Higden. Matth. Weſt. 12. Gul. Pict. 13. Ibid. 14. Baker. 15. Ord. Vital. Higden. Mat. Par. 16. Higden. 17. Gul. Malm. Mat. Weſt. Du Cang. *Gloſſ.* in Verb. *Cantilena Rolandi.* 18. Ut ſupra.

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LETTER XVII.

Spain, the Arabs, and the Empire of Conſtantinople, during the ninth, tenth, and part of the eleventh Century p. 185

1. FErreras. Mariana. 2. Rod. Tolet. *de Reb. Hiſp.* Luc. Tud. *Chronicon. Annal. Compoſtel.* 3. Zurita, *Annal. de Arag.* Hier. Blanca, *Comment. Rer. Arag.* 4. D'Herbel. *Biblioth. Orient.* Abulfed. *Chron.* Eben. Shohn. 5. Theophanus. 6. Cerden. 7. Ibid. See alſo Curpolatus and Leo Grammaticus. 8. Anna Comnena. Nicetas.

LETTER XVIII.

The Progreſs of Society in Europe, from the Settlement of the Modern Nations, to the Middle of the eleventh Century p. 197

1. LETT. II. p. 15. 2. Moſheim's *Eccleſiaſtical Hiſtory*, vol. i. 3. Du Cange. *Gloſſ.* voc. *Crux.* Thoſe who could not write, made the ſign of the Croſs, in place of their name, in confirmation of any deed. Hence the phraſe *ſigning*, inſtead of *ſubſcribing* a paper.

4. Du Cange, voc. *Curia Chriſtianitatis.* See alſo M. Fleury, *Hiſt. Eccleſ.* tom. xix. Diſc. Prelim.

5. Dach Specileg. *Vet. Script.* vol. ii. 6. Du Cange, voc *Feſtum.*

7. *Hiſtoire Literaire de France.* 8. Lett. II. p. 16, 17.

9. Du Cange, voc. *Feudum.* 10. Marculfus, lib. ii. cap. 8.

11. *Memoires ſur l'Ancienne Chevalerie, conſiderée comme un Eſtabliſſement Politique et Militaire*, par M. de la Curne de St. Palaye.

12. Ibid. See alſo Dr Robertſon's *Introd. Hiſt. Charles* V. The novice in chivalry was educated in the houſe of ſome knight, whom he ſerved firſt in the character of page, and afterwards of ſquire; nor was he admitted to the ſupreme honour of knighthood, till he had given many ſtriking proofs of his valour. The ceremony of initiation was very ſolemn. After the faſts preſcribed, a whole night ſpent in the church, in prayer, and in complete armour, the reception of the ſacraments, and many other religious rites, at which prieſts and knights aſſiſted, the pupil in arms received the ſword, and the embrace uſed on that occaſion, devoting himſelf thenceforth to the defence of the faith, together with that of widows, orphans, and all expoſed to violence or oppreſſion.

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1. HEISS, lib. ii. cap. 7. 2. Barre, tom. iii. 3. *Annal. de l'Emp.* tom i. 4. Heiſs, lib. ii. cap. 8. 5. Othon. Friſingen. lib. ii. cap. xxxii. 6. *Hiſt. de Conqueſt. de Normans.* 7. Leo Oſtienſis, lib ii. cap. ix. 8. Giannoné, *Hiſt. di Napol.* 9. Leo Oſtienſ. lib. ii. cap. ix. 10. *Annal. de l'Emp.* tom. i. 11. *Chron. Magdeb.* 12. *Annal. de l'Emp.* tom i. 13. Giannoné, *Hiſt. di Nap.* 14. Id. ib. 15. Leo Oſtienſis, lib. iii. cap. xxiii. 16. Heiſs, *Hiſt. de l'Emp.* 17. Aquila

17. Aquila Franca, lib. i. 18. *Annal. de l'Emp.* tom. i. 19. Ibid. 20. Heiſs, ubi ſupra. See alſo *Chron. Mag.* Gob. Perſ. *Coſm.* 21. Fleury, *Hiſt. Eccleſ.* 22. *Annal. de l'Emp.* tom. i. 23. *Mod. Univ. Hiſt.* vol. x. 24. *Annal. de l'Emp.* tom. i. 25. Barre, *Hiſt. d'Allemagne*, tom. iv. 26. Fleury, *Hiſt. Eccleſ.* 27. *Chron. Magdeb.* 28. *Chron. Verdun.* 29. *Chron Magdeb.* 30. Spicileg. tom. xii. 31. Barre, tom. iv. 32. Heiſs, liv. ii. cap. ix. 33. Ibid. 34. Gob. Perſ. *Coſmod.* Leo Oſtienſ. Baron, tom iii. *Chron. Magdeb.* 35. *Annal de l'Emp.* tom. i. 36. Ibid. 37. Sug abb. ex du Cheſne, tom. iv. Baron. Barre. 38. Arn. Buch. in Notis Wilhelm. Hedam.

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1 GUL. PICT. Ord. Vital. Hoveden. Flor. Wig. 2. Ut ſupra. 3. Ord. Vital. 4. M. Weſt. M Paris. 5. Ord. Vital. 6. Gul. Mam. 7. *Chron. Sax.* 8. Ord. Vital. 9. Ibid. See alſo Gul. Mam. and H. Hunt. 10. M. Weſt. M. Paris. Bracton, lib. i. cap. xi. 11. Eadmer. Ingulf. Ord. Vital. 12. *Angla Sacra.* 13. *Chron. Rothom.* 14. Brompton. 15. Gul. Mam. 16. Ib. Mam. 17. Ord. Vital. 18. Ibid. 19. Gul. Mam. M. Paris. 20. Gul. Sim. Dunelm. 21. M. Paris. 22. Fleury, *Hiſt. Eccleſ.* Flor. Wigorn. Brompton. 23. Gul. Mameſ. H. Hunt. M. Paris. Hoveden. Brompton. 25. M. Paris. 26. *Chron. Sax.* 27. Ord. Vital. Brompton. 28. H. Huntingdon. M. Paris. 29. Ibid. 30. Hoveden.

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1. SEE Lett. XV. p. 167. 2. Concil. Gall. tom. x. 3. See Lett. XIX. p. 216. 4. *Chron.* Will. Godelli ap Bouquet *Recueil des Hiſtoriens de France*, tom. x. 5. Eccard. *Corp. Script. Medii Ævi*, vol. i. 6. *Hiſt. Beil ſac.* tom. i. *Muſæi Ital.* 7. *Alexias*, lib. x. 8. Ibid. See alſo *Annal. de l'Emp.* vol. i. 9. Ut ſupra 10. Ibid. 11. Vertot, vol. i. 12. Ibid. Ord. Vital. Diceto. 13. P. Daniel. 14. Ord. Vital. Sug. *Vit. Lud. Groſſi.* 15. See Lett. XX. p. 259. 16. Sug. *Vit. Lud. Groſſi.*

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1. GEſt. *Ludov.* VII. ex Du Cheſne. 2. Ibid. 3. *Mod. Univ. Hiſt.* vol. x. fol. edit. et auct. citat. in loc. 4. Ibid. 5. Of ſeveral accounts given of the origin of theſe party-names, this

ſeems the moſt probable. See Blond. dec. vii. Sigon. lib. xi. Krant. Sax. lib. viii cap. viii.

6. Heiſs, liv. ii. cap. xii. 7. Ibid. 8. Marian. *Geſt. Lud.* VII. ex Du Cheſne.

LETTER XXIII.

France under Lewis VII. *till the Divorce of Queen Eleanor, with ſome Account of the ſecond Cruſade* p. 277

1. *Geſt. Lud.* VII. 2. *Epiſt. Lud. ad Suger. Nang. Chron.* 3. *Annal. de l'Emp.* tom. i. 4 Otho de Friſing. Gullem. Tyr. *Chron. Muriniac.* 5. Gullem. Tyr. *Geſt. Lud.* VII. *Vit. Suger.*

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1. Brompton. 2. Gul. Mameſ. 3. Ibid. 4. Ut ſupra. 5. Lett. XXIII. p. 280. 6. Gul. Mameſ. M. Paris. H. Hunt.

LETTER XXV.

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1. FITZ Stephen. M. Paris. 2. Madox. 3. Fitz-Steph. 4. Ibid. Neubr. Hoveden. Brompton. 5. Fitz-Steph. 6. Ibid. 7. *Hiſt. Quadr.* Hoveden. 8. *Hiſt. Quadr.* M. Paris. 9. Fitz-Steph. Gervaſe. 10. Fitz-Steph. Hoveden. 11. *Hiſt. Quadr.* 12. *Epiſt. St. Thom.* 13. Fitz-Steph. 14. Fitz Steph. Hoveden. 15. M. Paris. Brompton. 16. *Hiſt Quadr.* M. Paris. Hoveden. 17. Gervaſe. M. Paris. Neubr. 18. Girald. Cambr. Brompton. 19. M. Paris. Hoveden. Diceto. 20. Hoveden. Brompton. 21. Ib. 22. Hoveden. 23. Ypod Neuſt. Hume, vol. i. 24. Bened. Abb. 25. M. Paris. Bened. Abb. Hoveden. 26. Hoveden.

LETTER XXVI.

The German Empire and its Dependencies, Rome, and the Italian States, under Frederic I. *ſurnamed Barbaroſſa, with ſome Account of the third Cruſade* p. 310

1. *ANNAL. de l'Empire* 2. Ibid. 3. Krant Sax. lib. vi. cap. xvi. Heiſs, liv. ii. cap. xii. 4. Millot. Barre. 5. *Annal. de l'Empire* 6. Gob. Perſ. Barre. 7. M. Paris. Girald. Cambr. Spelm. *Concil.* Rymer, vol. i. 8. Barre, tom. v. 9. *Elemens d'Hiſt. Gen.* par Millot. 10. Heiſs. liv. xi. cap. 13. 11. Sigon. lib. iv. 12. Ibid. 13. *Ann.* Bolor. Avent lib vi. Barre, tom. v. 14. M. Paris. 15. Barre tom. v. 16. Otho *a Sancto Blaſio.* Godf. Monach.

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M. Weſt. 2. Hoveden. Viniſauf. 3. Bened. Abb. Brompton. *Annal Franc.* Gul. Neub. 4. Bened. Abb. Viniſauf. 5. Rigord 6. W. Heming. Brompton. Rymer, vol. i. Monach. 7. Hoveden. Bened. Abb. Dicto. 8. Viniſauf. W. Heming. 9. Ibid. 10. *Chron.* T. Wykes. 11. Hoveden. Rymer. Polydor. Virg. *Annal. Franc.* 12. Rymer. 13. Hoveden. *Append. ad Chron.* Sigebert. 14. Hume, *Hiſt. Engl.* vol. ii. 15. M. Paris. 16. Hoveden. Knyghton. 17. Ibid. 18. M. Weſt. W. Heming. 19. Ibid. 20. M. Paris. Trivet. 21. M. Paris. 22. *Chron. Dunſt.* vol. i. 23. Reg. de Nov. *Hiſt. Albig.* 24. M. Paris. M. Weſt. 25. Ibid. 26. Rymer, vol. i. M. Paris. 27. Gul. Brit. *Vit. Phil. Auguſt.* Nag *Chron.* P. Æmil. *Annal. Franc.* 28. Rymer, vol. i. *Chron. Dunſt.* M. Paris.

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1. ROG. Hoved. *An. Angel.* 2. Sigon. lib. xv. 3. Heiſs, lib. xi. c. xiv. Lett. XXVII. 4. Sigon. *Reg. Ital.* Oth. *Sanct. Blaſ.* 5. Lunig. Arch. *Imp.* 6. *Ann. Boior.* Relius, *de Reg. Napol. et Sicil.* 7. Relius, ibid. Parre, lib. v. 8. Krantz lib. viii. cap. xvi. 9. Meib. *Apol. pro Otton.* 10 *Geſt. Innocent.* lib. i. 11. *Annal. de l'Emp.* tom. i. *De Negot Im.* chap. lxiii. 12. *Chron.* Sanct. Mart. Ann. 1203. 13. Nicetas. 14. Ibid. 15. Cantacuzanus. 16. Ibid. 17. *Chronica, Auguſtenſis.* 18. Heiſs, lib. ii. cap. xvi. 19. *Annal. de l'Emp.* vol. ii. 20. Mezer. *Abreg, Chron.* 21. *Ann. Paderborn.* 22. Ibid. 23. Jac. de Vitri 24. Ibid. 25. Ut ſupra. 26. Sigon. de *Reg. Ital.* Gionone. *Hiſt. di Nap.* 27. Richard. *Chron.* ap. Murat. 28. Petr. de Vineis, lib. i. 29. Richard. *Chron.* Sigon. 30. Avent. *Ann. Boior.* lib. vii. 31. Gob. Perſ. *Coſmod.* æt. vi. cap. lxiv 32. Id ibid. 33. Krantz, lib. viii. 34. Id. ibid. 35. Gob. Perſ. *Coſm.* æt. vii. 36. M. Paris. 37. *Ann. Boior.* Jo. Avent. lib. vii. 38. Krantz, lib. viii. Heiſs. lib. ii.

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1. RYMER, vol. i. M. Paris. 2. M. Paris. 3. Ibid. 4. Rymer, vol. i. 5. M. Paris. M. Weſt. W. Heming. *Chron. Dunſt.*

Dunſt. Ann. Wawerl. 6. Rymer, vol. i. 7. M. Paris. W. Heming. *Chron. Dunſt.* 8 M. Paris. 9. Ibid. 10. Rymer, vol. i. M. Paris, *Chron. Dunſt.* 11. M. Paris. 12. Ibid. 13. Rymer, vol. i. M. Paris. *Chron. Dunſt.* 14. Rymer, vol. i. M. Paris. W. Heming. 15. Rymer, vol i. Knyghton. W. Heming. 16. Rymer, vol. i. 17. *Chron. de Mailr.* M. Paris. W. Heming. 18. M. Paris.

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1. NAngius, in *Vita Ludovici* IX. 2. Id. ibid. 3. Joinville, *Hiſt. de St. Louis.* 4. *Annal. Franc.* 5. De la Croix, *Hiſt. Gengb. Med. Univ. Hiſt.* vol. iii. fol. edit. 6. Millot, *Elemens de Hiſt. Generale*, vol. ii. 7. Nang. *Vit. Lud.* IX. 8. Joinville, *Hiſt. de St. Louis.* 9. *Annal. de Dunſt.* 10. Du Tillet. Duplcix. P. Henault. 11. Nang. *Vit. Lud.* IX. 12. Giannone, *Hiſt. di Nap.* 13. Nangius. Mezeray.

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1. MAriana, *Hiſt. Gen. de Eſpana.* 2. Rod. Tolet. *Hiſt. Arab.* Mariana, ut ſup. 3. Ibid. 4. Rod. Tolet. *de Reb. Hiſt.* 5. Ibid. 6. Hiſt. Gen. de Port. par Leg. Neufville. 7. Rod. Tolet. *de Reb. Hiſp.* 8. Ibid. 9. Ferreras, *Hiſt. de Eſpana*, ſect. xv. Mariana, lib. xiv. 10. Ferreras, ibid.

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1. MUratori, *Antiq. Ital.* 2. Ibid et *Ordon. de Rois de Franc.* tom. i. 3 Du Cange, voc. *Communia.* Dacher. *Specileg* Hume, *Hiſt. Angl.* vol. ii. Robertſon, *Hiſt. Charles* V. vol. i. 4 M. l'Abbe Mably, *Obſervat ſur l'Hiſt. de France*, tom. ii. Pfeffel, *Abrege de Hiſt. d'Allemagne.* Brady, *Treatiſe of Boroughs.* Madox, *Firma Burgi.* Hume, *Hiſt. Angl.* append i. and ii. Lord Littleton, *Hiſt. Henry* II. vol. ii.

5. Du Cange, *Gloſſ.* voc. *Treuga*, ib. *Diſſertat.* Du Mont, *Corps Diplomatique*, tom. i. Robertſon, *Hiſt. Charles* V. vol i. Hume, *Hiſt. Angl.* append. i.

6. Monteſquieu, *l'Eſprit de Loix*, liv. xxviii c. 42. Hume, *Hiſt. Angl.* vol. ii. Robertſon. *Hiſt. Charles* V. vol i. 7. Ut. ſupra.

8. Robertſon, *Hiſt. Charles* V. vol. i. et Auct. citat. in loc.

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1. M. Weſt. W. Heming. 2. T. Wykes. 3. Walſing. Trivet. 4. Sir J. Wynne 5. Robertſon, *Hiſt. Scot.* book i. 6. Rymer, vol. ii. Heming, vol. i. 7. Robertſon, *Hiſt. Scot.* book i. 8. Rymer, vol. ii. 9. Brady, *Treatiſe of Boroughs.* Madox, *Firma Burgi.* Hume, *Hiſt. Engl.* vol. ii. 10 Ut ſupra. 11. Rymer, vol. ii. Heming, vol. i. 12. Walſingham. Trivet. 13. Ut ſupra. 14 Rymer, vol. ii. Heming, vol. i. 15. Heming, vol. i. *Chron. Dunſt.* vol. ii. 16. Walſingham. 17. Ibid. 18. Heming, vol. i. 19. T. Wikes. M. Weſt. 20. Heming, vol. i. 21. M. Weſt. Geo Buchan. 22. Ut. ſupra. 23. Walſingham. Trivet. 24. Hale, *Hiſt. of Engliſh Law.*

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1. W. Alſingham. T. de la More. Trivet. 2. T. de la More. Ypod. Neuſt. 3. *Tuttle's Collect.* par. ii. 4. Rymer, vol. iii. 5. T. de la More. Walſingham. Ypod. Neuſt. 6. Rymer, vol. iv. 7. T. de la More. *Cotton's Abridg.*

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1. H. Eiſs, liv ii. 2. Æn. Sylv. *Hiſt Bohem.* Avent. *Ann. Boior,* lib. vii. 3. Dumont, *Corp. Diplom.* tom. i. 4. Barre, tom. vi. *Annal. de l'Emp.* 5. *Chron. Colm.* par. ii. 6. Id. ibid. 7. *Ann. Storon.* Emmius, *Ther. Friſic.* 8. Barre, tom x. 9. *Hiſt. de Demel. de Bonif.* VIII. *avec. Philip le Bel.* 10. Stetler. *Ann. Helvetic.* xi. 11. Rebdorf. ad Ann. 1308. 12. Heiſs, liv. ii. 13. Id. ibid. 14. Struv. pet. ix. ſect. iv. 15. Cuſpin. *in Vit. Hen.* VII. 16. *Geſt. Epiſcop.* lib. ii. 17. Barre, tom. vi.

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1 S. Pondan. Maleſpina. Giannone, *Hiſt. Neap.* 2. Theod. *de Piſ. de Privileg. et Jur. Imper.* 3. Nang *Chron.* Le Gendre. 4. De Serres.

Serres. 5. Du Cheſne. Polyd. Virg. 6. Rainald. Antonin. De Serres. 7. Trivet. *Annal.* Mezit. *Hiſt Conſ. de Lyon.* 8. P. Æmil. Le Gendre. Trivet. Walſingham. 9. Rymer, vol iii. Vertot, vol. ii. 10. Le Gendre, Dupleix. 11. De Serres. Mezeray.

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1. HEming. Knyghton. 2 *Cotton's Abridg.* 3. Ibid. 4. Heming. Walſingham. Knyghton. 5. Ibid. 6. Rymer, vol. iv. 7. Froiſſard, liv. i. 8. Rymer, vol iv. 9. Froiſſard, liv. i. *Mem. de Robert d'Artois.* 10. Froiſſard, liv i. 11. Id. ibid. 12. Walſingham. 13. Froiſſard. Heming. Walſingham. 14 Ibid. 15. Ut Supra. 16. Froiſſard, liv. i. 17. Id ibid. 18. Jean Villani, lib. xii. 19. Froiſſard, liv i. 20. Id ibid. 21. Hume, *Hiſt. Angl.* vol. ii. chap. xvi. 22. Froiſſard, liv. i. 23. Rymer, vol vi. Froiſſard, liv. i. 24. Froiſſard, liv. i. 25. Rymer, vol. vi. 26. Froiſſard. liv. i. 27. Id. ibid. 28. Rymer, vol vi. 29. Froiſſard, liv. vi. 30. Id. ibid. 31. *Hiſt. du Gueſclin.* 32. Froiſſard, liv. i. 33. Id. ibid. 34. Walſingham.

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1. AVent. *Ann. Boior.* l. vii. 2. Simler. *de Repub Helvetic.* 3. Avent. *Ann Boior.* l. vii. 4. Villani l. ix. 5. Avent. *Ann. Boior.* l. vii. 6. Spondan 7 Villani, l. x 8. *Hiſt de Luxemb* l. xlviii. 9. Avent. *Ann. Boior.* l. vii. 10. *Annal de l'Emp.* 11. Ibid. 12. Villani, lib. xii. 13. Fleury, tom. xx. l 96. 14. *De Vit. Solit.* l. ii. 15. Barre, tom. ii. 16. Heiſs, l. ii.

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1. FRoiſſard. Walſingham. 2. Ibid. 3. Ut ſupra. 4. Cotton. Walſingham. 5. Ibid. 6. Tyrrel, vol. iii. part ii. from the Records. 7. Walſingham. 8. 2 Hen. IV. c. vii. 9. Walſingham. *Chron. Otterbourn.* 10. Walſingham. *Chron. Otterbourn.* Rymer, vol. viii. 11. Walſingham. 12. Buchanan, lib. x.

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